NOT TO BE ISSUED OUT
WITHOUT PERMISSION.



THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI

AND HIS TIMES.

NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI

AND HIS TIMES.

BY

PROF. PASQUALE VILLARI.

AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF SAVONAROLA," ETC.

TRANSLATED BY LINDA VILLARI.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

C. KEGAN PAUL & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1878.


00023370

PREFACE

IN offering to the public a fresh biography of Niccolò Machiavelli, I feel that it is needful to state my reasons for adding another to the many works upon the same subject already before the world.

Throughout a long series of years the Florentine Secretary was regarded as a species of Sphinx, of whom none could solve the enigma. By some he was depicted as a monster of perfidy; by others as one of the noblest and purest of patriots. Some looked upon his writings as iniquitous precepts for the safe maintenance of tyranny; others, on the contrary, maintained that the *Principe* was a sanguinary satire upon despots, intended to sharpen daggers against them, and incite peoples to rebellion. While one writer exalted the literary and scientific merits of his works, another would pronounce them a mass of erroneous and perilous doctrines, only fitted for the ruin and corruption of any society foolish enough to adopt them. And thus the very name of Machiavelli became, in popular parlance, a term of opprobrium.

In course of time, and through the development of criticism, not a few of these exaggerations have disap-

peared, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that any unanimity of opinion has as yet been obtained on the points of highest importance. Many of my readers may remember the indignant outcry raised, especially in France, against the Provisional Government of Tuscany, when it initiated the revolution of 1859, by decreeing a new and complete edition of Machiavelli's works. To the insults then hurled against Italians in general, and the Florentine Secretary in particular, others retorted by lauding his political genius and purity of mind. Only a few years have elapsed since the appearance of a new *History of the Florentine Republic*, written by one whose name is cherished and venerated throughout Italy. This work contains a very eloquent parallel, full of just and ingenious observations, between Guicciardini and Machiavelli. And the comparison concludes, not only to the advantage of the former writer, but also with the assertion that the latter was "malignant at heart, malignant of mind, his soul corrupted by despair of good." *

And this was no hasty judgment; on the contrary, it was the fruit of careful study, of long meditation, and was pronounced by one whose word had no slight weight in Italy. The two Tuscan scholars who, in 1873, commenced the publication of the newest edition of Machiavelli's works, frequently allude to the sincere and cordial friendship which—in their opinion—existed

* Gino Capponi, *Storia delle Republica di Firenze*, vol. ii. p. 368, Florence, Barbéra (2 vols. 8vo), 1875.

between him and Cesar Borgia, even at the time when the latter's hands were stained by the most atrocious crimes; and they even publish some inedited documents, the better to confirm their assertion.

On the other hand, more recent biographers, although not always in agreement with each other, exalt the patriotism no less than the genius of Machiavelli, and some of them, after careful study of his works and of inedited documents, even praise his generosity, nobility, and exquisite delicacy of mind, and go so far as to declare him an incomparable model of public and private virtue. It seems to me that this is a proof that we are still far removed from harmony, and that new researches and fresh studies may not be altogether superfluous.

There were various reasons for this great and continual dissension. The times in which Machiavelli lived are full of difficulties and contradictions for the historian, and these are embodied and multiplied in the person of the Secretary, in a fashion that really makes him sometimes appear to be a sphinx. It is naturally perplexing to behold the same man who, in some pages, sounds the praises of liberty and virtue in words of unapproachable eloquence, in others teaches principles of treachery and deceit, and how best to oppress a people and maintain the safety of tyrants. Nor are these doubts dissipated by first seeing him faithfully serving his Republic for fifteen years, then sustaining misery and persecution for his love of liberty, and afterwards begging to be employed in the service of the Medici, were it but "*to turn a stone.*" Yet the con-

tradictions of history and of human nature are manifold, and in the present case would have been much more easily explained, were it not that most writers have sought to be either accusers or defenders of Machiavelli, judges — too seldom impartial — of his morality and of his patriotism, rather than genuine biographers. To many — particularly in Italy — it appeared sufficient to have proved that he loved liberty, and his country's unity and independence, in order to be lenient upon all other points; therefore praise they his doctrines and his moral character, even previous to submitting them to a diligent critical examination, almost as though patriotism were a sure evidence of political and literary capacity, and must be exempt from vice and crime in private life.

This inevitably called forth contrary opinions, for which the contradictions noted above furnished abundant food. So that little by little the whole question seemed limited to an endeavour to ascertain whether the *Principe* and the *Discorsi* had been written by an honest, or a dishonest man, by a republican or by a courtier, whereas what it really concerned us to know was the measure of scientific value of the doctrines contained in them; whether they were true or false, did or did not comprise novel truths, did or did not serve for the advancement of science? None can deny that if those doctrines were false, no virtue of the writer could make them true, if true, no vices of his could make them false.

It is true that there has been no lack of influential

writers who have undertaken an impartial and rational examination of Machiavelli's works, but these have almost always given us critical essays and dissertations rather than real and thorough biographies. Absorbed in a philosophical examination of his theories, they either gave too little attention to the times and character of the author, or spoke of them as though every dispute might be arranged by stating that Machiavelli represented the character of his age and faithfully depicted it in his own writings. But in a century there is space for many men, many ideas, many different vices and different virtues, nor do the times alone suffice to render clear to us all that is the work, the personal creation of genius. Nevertheless the study of them is of course necessary in order to form a complete judgment of the doctrines of a writer who—as in Machiavelli's case—draws so much from them and yet puts so much of himself in his works. This is not, however, the place for entering upon an examination of biographers and critics, of whom it will be my duty to speak farther on, in making use of their works and in giving frequent quotations from them. My present object is simply to announce that I have no intention of being either the apologist or the accuser of the Florentine Secretary. I have studied his life, his times, and his writings, in order to know and describe him as he really was, with all his merits and demerits, his vices and his virtues.

This may probably appear to be a needless presumption, after the attempts already made by writers

of greater authority than myself. But thanks to historical materials of recent accumulation, and others which, though still unexplored, are now easily accessible, we have increased facilities for solving many of those doubts which previously seemed to present unsurmountable difficulties. It is certain that publications such as the ten volumes of Guicciardini's inedited works,* the diplomatic correspondence of almost every province of Italy, an infinite number of other documents, not to mention the original works of Italian and foreign writers, have dissipated many obscurities and contradictions both in the literary and political history of the Italian Renaissance. Also the rapid progress in our days of the social sciences, naturally makes it much easier to determine the intrinsic value and historic necessity of that which many have called Machiavellism. And for all which relates to the secretary personally, there are the papers which passed at his death into the hands of the Ricci family, then to the Palatine Library in Florence — where for a long time they were very jealously kept—and are now in the National Library, accessible to all, and already in part published. In the five volumes already issued by Signori Passerini and Milanesi of their new edition of Machiavelli's works, many useful documents selected from Florentine archives and libraries are comprised. Nevertheless a very considerable mass of highly important papers still remained unexplored. For instance, to my certain knowledge, there are several thousands of Machiavelli's

* Guicciardini, *Opere Inedite.*

official letters still inedited, and—as far as I know—never before examined by any biographer. This being the case, it seemed to me that there would be no undue presumption in venturing upon another trial.

Were all biographies necessarily planned upon the same model, then indeed I might be exposed to severe blame. But I have thought it right to choose the form best adapted to the nature of the subject. So little is known of Machiavelli during the years in which he completed his studies and his character was in course of formation, that I have tried, in part at least, to fill the great gap, by a somewhat prolonged study of the times. I have endeavoured to examine the gradual rise in that century of what may be called the Machiavellian spirit, before he himself appeared upon the scene to give it the original imprint of his political genius, and to formulate it scientifically. Then, after having to a certain extent studied Machiavellism before Machiavelli, I drew near to him as soon as he became visible in history, seeking to penetrate his passions and his thoughts, as far as possible, from his own writings, and those of his most intimate friends and contemporaries. And without neglecting the examination of modern authors, I have always preferred to depend upon the authority of those nearest to the facts which I had to relate.

And this too has contributed in no slight degree to give a special form to this biography. Among the documents of most importance for the comprehension of Machiavelli's political life, the Legations must certainly be included, for in these we find not only the faithful

history of all his embassies, but likewise the earliest germs of his political doctrines. And notwithstanding that this had been already noted—among others by Gervinus—these *Legations* had never been much read, partly because they are, of necessity, full of repetitions, and partly because, in order to be generally liked and understood, they would require a running commentary upon the events to which they allude. Therefore, to enable the reader to perceive with his own eyes the way in which our author's ideas were formed, I have frequently had to give summaries of and even *verbatim* extracts from many of his despatches.* And this far oftener than I could have wished for the sake of swiftness of narration, but never oftener than I considered necessary for a full knowledge of the subject.

Then, too, the official letters written by Machiavelli in the Chancery form the indispensable complement of the *Legations*. If the latter make us acquainted with his political life away from the Republic, the former teach us to know what it was at home. Many, of course, are of no value whatever, being simple orders given to this or that Commissary, and hastily repeating the same things over and over again. There are others, however, in which we find frequent flashes of the great writer's style, ideas, and originality. And the majority of these letters being—as we have shown—still unpublished, it

* I would beg the reader to observe that whenever I give an extract *verbatim*, there are inverted commas before each line; when, on the other hand, I give a summary, which keeps very close to the original, the inverted commas are placed only at the beginning and end of the fragment.

was requisite to examine all with great care and attention. I therefore undertook this tedious and often ungrateful task, copying, or causing to be copied, some thousand letters, certain of which I have quoted in the foot-notes, from others given important extracts, while some few again I have transcribed *verbatim* in the Appendix, so that the reader might be able to have a clear idea of their general nature. This, too, contributed to slacken the pace of the narrative, and try as I might, there was no remedy for it. It was impossible to leave unmentioned that which, for so many years, was Machiavelli's principal work; nor was it possible to speak of so vast a mass of unpublished letters without often quoting and inserting here and there a few sentences, especially since there is slight hope that any one will undertake to publish them in full. It is useless here to enumerate all the other documents which I sought out and read; they can easily be ascertained from the notes and appendix. I will merely remark that during these researches I was enabled to give to the world three volumes of Giustinian's despatches, which were collected and examined by me, not only because of the fresh light they threw upon the times occupying my attention, but also because they enabled me to place in juxtaposition with the Florentine secretary and orator, one of the principal ambassadors of the Venetian Republic, and thus institute a comparison between them. When in 1512 the Medici were reinstated in Florence, liberty was extinguished, and Machiavelli being out of office, and fallen into the obscurity of private life, his

biography then changes its aspect and is almost exclusively limited to the examination of his written works and the narration of the events in the midst of which they were composed. This, however, is the principal subject of the second volume, which, being still incomplete, cannot be placed before the public as soon as I should have desired. For my own part I should have preferred waiting until both volumes could have been published simultaneously. But in the long years during which my studies have been carried on, I have witnessed the publication of many fresh dissertations on, and biographies of Machiavelli, of documents, in many instances discovered and transcribed by myself; and so many other works bearing on the same subject are already announced, that it appears best to publish this first volume without further delay. Besides, this method of publication is now so general that many excellent precedents justify my adoption of it.

I must notify to my readers that in quoting from the works of Machiavelli, I have made use of the Italian edition, dated 1813, one of the best at present completed. I have, however, been careful to collate it with the more recent edition commenced at Florence in 1873, but still far from completion, and which, by the death of Count Passerini, has lost its most active collaborator. In this a very praiseworthy attempt has been made to give a faithful reproduction of Machiavelli's original orthography. But in the many quotations inserted by me in the present work, I have thought it advisable occasionally to expunge certain conventional and well-known modes

of speech which were out of place in a modern work. This, however, I have done with great caution and solely to avoid the inconvenience of changing too often or too rapidly the material form of diction. In the Appendix, on the contrary, I have scrupulously and entirely adhered to the original orthography. The reader will also see that I have been frequently forced to disagree with the two learned gentlemen who bestowed their labours on the new edition, especially with regard to the importance and significance they have sought to attribute to some of the documents which they have already published. But to this I shall refer elsewhere, merely remarking here that I have no intention of questioning their undoubted merit, nor their care and diligence in publishing the documents, the more so that these are of great value to the biographer, and that I myself have frequently made use of them.

To one erroneous notice it is imperative however to refer. In the Preface to the third volume, published in 1875, after deploring the loss of many of Machiavelli's letters, the editors go on to say: "It is a known fact "that many volumes of his private letters, which were in "the hands of the Vettori family, were for ever lost to "Italy by being fraudulently sold by a priest to Lord "Guildford, from whom they passed into the hands of a "certain Mr Philipps, who, as long as he lived, preserved "them and other precious things in his possession with "such extreme jealousy, that he even refused to let them "be examined, much less copied, for the new edition of "the Works of Machiavelli decreed in 1859 by the Tuscan

"Government, when a request to that effect was made to "him by the Marquis of Lajatico, special ambassador to "London. And although he (Philipps) is now dead and "has legally bequeathed these letters and other things to "the British Museum, we are still unable to make use of "them, his creditors having come forward to prevent his "will from taking effect." Now it was impossible for me to write a biography of Machiavelli, without making every effort to gain a sight of the "many" volumes of private letters of which the existence was thus positively asserted. Setting enquiries on foot, I ascertained that Lord Guildford had really purchased in Florence three volumes of manuscript letters, that they were indicated in his printed catalogue as inedited letters of Machiavelli, and further described as a *literary treasure* of inestimable value. These letters were afterwards purchased by the great English collector of manuscripts of all kinds, Sir Thomas Philipps, and were by him bequeathed, with the rest of his library, to his daughter, the wife of the Rev. E. Fenwick, and now resident in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham. To Cheltenham I accordingly went and at last held in my hands the three mysterious volumes. The reader will readily appreciate my surprise, my disappointment, on discovering that in the whole three volumes there was only a single letter which could even be supposed to have been written by Machiavelli!

The volumes in question are in ancient handwriting, are marked in the Philipps' catalogue, No. 8238, and are entitled: *Carteggio Originale di Niccolò Machiavelli, al*

tempo che fu segretario della Repubblica fiorentina. Inedito.

The first letter—which has no importance—bears date of the 20th October 1508, is written in the name of the Ten, and at the bottom of the page has the name Nic° Maclavello, appended to it according to the usual custom of the coadjutor who copied the registers of the Chancery. This is the sole letter of which the minute may possibly have been his, but we cannot be quite sure even of this. All the other letters—beginning with the second of the first volume—are dated from 1513, when he was already out of office, and the Medici reinstated in Florence, down to 1526. Always addressed to Francesco Vettori, now ambassador to Rome, now envoy elsewhere, always written in the name of the Otto di Pratica who succeeded to the Ten in 1512, the initials N. M. are to be found at the bottom of almost every page. Occasionally, however, we find the name of Niccolò Michelozzi, sometimes abbreviated, sometimes in full, and it was Michelozzi who was Chancellor of the Otto di Pratica during that period. The first letter, therefore, extracted from some register of the Republic, was placed at the beginning of these volumes, for the sole purpose of deceiving the too credulous purchaser, who had he taken the trouble to look at the dates, must have understood that the others could not possibly be by Machiavelli. So, having examined the catalogue of the enormous Philipps's library and taken a few notes from other Italian manuscripts contained in it, I went back to Florence with nothing gained save the

certainty of the non-existence of the supposed correspondence.

And now one last word only remains to be said. It frequently happens that authors are prompted by some inner thought to the choice of their subject. What chiefly urged me to mine was, that the Italian Renaissance of which Machiavelli was undoubtedly one of the principal representatives, is the period in which our national spirit had its last really original manifestation. It was followed by a prolonged slumber from which we are only now awakening. Hence the study of this period of our history may, if I am not mistaken, prove doubly useful to us, not only by acquainting us with a very splendid portion of our old culture, but likewise by offering us more than one explanation of the vices against which we are still combating at the present day, and of the virtues which have assisted our regeneration. And the lesson will be all the more valuable, the better the historian remembers that his mission is not to preach precepts of morality and politics, but only to endeavour to revive the past, of which the present is born, and from which it derives continual light, continual teaching. This at least is the idea which has given me encouragement and comfort, by keeping alive in me the hope that, even far from the world and shut up with my books, I am not forgetful of the mighty debt, which now more than ever—in the measure of our strength—we all are owing to our country.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
I. THE RENAISSANCE	1
II. THE PRINCIPAL ITALIAN STATES	35
1. Milan	35
2. Florence	47
3. Venice	61
4. Rome	75
5. Naples	93
III. LITERATURE	106
1. Petrarch and the Revival of Learning	106
2. Learned Men in Florence	120
3. Learned Men in Rome	156
4. Milan and Francesco Filelfo	184
5. Learned Men in Naples	191
6. Minor Italian States	195
7. The Platonic Academy	205
8. Revival of Italian Literature	228

PAGE

IV. POLITICAL CONDITION OF ITALY AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY 277

1. The Election of Pope Alexander VI. . . 277
2. The Arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy . . 289
3. The Borgia 312
4. Savonarola and the Republic of Florence . 334

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

INTRODUCTION.

THE RENAISSANCE.

It would be difficult to find any period in the history of modern Europe equal in importance with that distinguished in History under the name of the Renaissance. Standing midway between the decay of the Middle Ages and the growth of modern institutions, we may say that it was already dawning in the days of Dante Alighieri, in whose immortal works we find the synthesis of a dying age and the announcement of the birth of a new era. This new era—the Renaissance—began with Petrarch and his learned contemporaries, and ended with Martin Luther and the Reformation, which event not only produced signal changes in the history of those nations which remained Catholic, but transported beyond the Alps the centre of gravity of European culture.

During the period of which we treat, we behold in

Italy a rapid social transformation, an enormous intellectual activity. On all sides old traditions, forms and institutions were crumbling and disappearing to make way for new. The Scholastic method yielded the place to philosophy, the principle of authority fell before the advance of free reason and free examination.

Then the study of natural sciences began; Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci hazarded the first steps in search of the experimental method; commerce and industry advanced; voyages were multiplied, and Christopher Columbus discovered America. The art of printing, invented in Germany, quickly became an Italian trade. Classical learning was everywhere diffused and the use of the Latin tongue,—now more than ever the universal language of civilized peoples—placed Italy in close relation with the rest of Europe which accepted her as guide and mistress of learning. Political science and the art of war were created; chronicles gave way to the political histories of Guicciardini and Machiavelli; ancient culture sprang into new life, and amid many other new forms of literary composition the romance of chivalry came into existence. Brunelleschi created a new architecture, Donatello restored sculpture, Masaccio and a myriad of Tuscan and Umbrian painters prepared the way, by the study of nature, for Raphael and for Michel Angelo. The world seemed renewed and rejuvenated by the splendid sun of Italian culture.

But, in the midst of this vivid splendour, strange and inexplicable contradictions were to be found. This

people, so rich, so industrious, so intelligent, before whom all Europe stood, as it were, in an ecstacy of admiration—this people was rapidly falling into corruption. Everywhere liberty was disappearing, tyrants springing up; family ties grew weaker and weaker, the domestic hearth was profaned: no man trusted any longer to the good faith of Italians. Both politically and morally the nation became so feeble that it could no longer withstand the shock of any foreign power; the first army that passed the Alps traversed the peninsula almost without striking a blow, and was soon followed by others who devastated and trampled the country with equal impunity.

Accustomed as we are now to hear daily that knowledge and culture constitute the greatness and show the measure of a nation's strength, we are naturally led to enquire how Italy could become so feeble, so corrupt, so decayed, in the midst of her intellectual and artistic pre-eminence?

It is easy to say, that the fault lay with the Italians who tore each other to pieces instead of uniting for the common defence. But the assertion of a fact does not explain it. Was not the Italy of the Middle Ages more divided and yet stronger? were there not then civil wars and reprisals even blinder and more sanguinary? Nor is it enough to say that the country had been worn out by the struggles and dearly purchased grandeur of the Middle Ages. How can we call a nation worn out at the very moment in which its intelligence and activity transformed the face of the world?

Instead of wearily trying to formulate general judgments, it is better to devote ourselves to observing and describing facts. And the principal fact of the fifteenth century is this, that in Italy mediæval institutions having brought forth a new state of society and great civil progress, suddenly became useless and even dangerous. Hence a radical transformation and revolution became unavoidable. And it was precisely at the moment when this social convulsion was going on in Italy, that foreign invaders fell upon the land and checked all internal progress.

The Middle Ages were ignorant of that political organism which we call the State, which unites and co-ordinates social forces according to precise rules. Instead, society was then divided into Feuds and Sub-feuds, into great and little Communes, and the Commune was merely a sheaf of minor associations, badly bound together. Above this vast and disordered mass stood the Papacy and the Empire, which, although increasing the general confusion by their frequent wars against each other, still gave some rough unity to the civilized world. In the fifteenth century all this was entirely changed. On the one hand, great nations were gradually coming into shape; on the other, the authority of the empire, restricted in Germany, was in Italy little more than a memory of the past. The Pontiffs occupied in constituting an actual and personal temporal power, while yet remaining at the head of Christendom, could no longer pretend to the political dominion of the world, but aspired to be as other sovereigns. In this

state of things, the Commune which had formed the past grandeur of Italy, found itself in a substantially new condition, which historians have not sufficiently taken into consideration.

The Commune had now obtained its long desired independence, and had only its own strength to rely upon: in all wars with its neighbours it could no longer hope or fear the interposition of a superior authority. Hence it became necessary to enlarge its own territory and increase its strength, the more so, since in whatever direction it looked, it beheld great States and military monarchies in process of formation throughout Europe. But owing to the political constitution of the Commune, every extension of territory evoked dangers of so grave a nature as to imperil its very existence. We may really say that a fatal hour had struck in which exactly what was most necessary to it, threatened the gravest danger. The Commune of the Middle Ages was ignorant of representative government, and only understood a government directed by its free citizens; therefore, it was necessary to restrict these to a very small number, in order to avoid anarchy. For this reason the right of citizenship was a privilege conceded to only a few of those who dwelt within the circuit of the city walls. Florence, the most democratic republic in Italy, which in 1494 attained to its most liberal constitution, numbered at that date about 90,000 inhabitants, of whom only 3200 were citizens proper.* Not even the

* Villari, The History of G. Savonarola, translated by L. Horner, London. Longmans, 1863.

Ciompi, in their disorderly revolt, had claimed citizenship for all. As to the territory outside the walls, it was considered enough to have abolished servitude; no one contemplated giving it a share in the government. This state of things was based, not only on the statutes, laws, and existing customs, but also in the profound and radical convictions of the most illustrious men. Dante Alighieri, who had taken no small part in the very democratic law of the *Ordinamenti di Giustizia* (Rules of Justice) at the time of Giano della Bella, speaks with regret in his poem of the days when the territory of the Commune only extended a few paces beyond the walls, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring lands of Campi, Figline, and Signa had not begun to mix with those of Florence;

> "Sempre la confusion delle persone
> Principio fu del mal della cittade."*

And Petrarch, who dreamed of the ancient empire, and was so enthusiastic for Cola di Rienzo, advised that in reorganising the Roman republic, its government should be confided to the citizens proper, excluding as foreigners the inhabitants of Latium, and even the Orsini and the Colonna, because these families, although Roman, were, in his opinion, of foreign descent.

Accordingly, whenever the territory of a Commune became enlarged by the submission to it of another, this latter, however mildly governed, found itself completely shut out from political life, and its principal

* Paradiso, xvi. 66-68. See also the lines 42-72.

citizens driven into exile about the world. The spectacle of a Pisan or a Pistoian in the Councils of the Florentine republic would have been as extraordinary as now-a-days that of a citizen of Paris or of Berlin seated on the benches of the Italian Parliament. It was far preferable then to fall under a monarchy, since all subjects of a monarchy enjoyed equal privileges, and every inhabitant of every province was eligible for public offices. In fact, Guicciardini remarked to Machiavelli, when the latter was sketching the plan of a great Italian republic, that such a form of government would be to the advantage of a single city and the ruin of all others; since a republic never grants the benefit of its liberty "to any but its own proper citizens," while monarchy "is more impartial to all."* And no terror could equal that experienced by the Italian republics when Venice,—who yet granted greater freedom to her subjects than any other,—turned her attention to the mainland, and aspired to the dominion of the peninsula. They would have preferred, not monarchy alone, but even foreign monarchy, since then they might preserve some local independence, which in those days could not be hoped for in Italy under a republic. Guicciardini considered that Cosmo de Medici, in aiding Francesco Sforza to become Lord of Milan, saved the liberty

* Guicciardini *Opere Inedite*, published by Counts Piero and Luigi Guicciardini, in Florence, from 1857 to 1866, in ten vols. See in vol. i. (*Considerazioni intorno dei Discorsi di Machiavelli*) the consideration on chap. xii. of the *Discourses*. Guicciardini at this point styles kingdom what we call monarchy, and monarchy the union of many Communes in one republic.

of all Italy, which would otherwise have fallen under Venetian domination.* And Niccolò Machiavelli, who so frequently sighed for a republic, yet in all his official letters, in all his missions, always speaks of Venice as the chief enemy of Italian liberty.

In this condition of things, with these convictions, it was impossible to hope that the Commune could unite Italy by the formation of a strong republic. One might hope in a confederation or in a monarchy; but the first presupposed a central government different from that of the Communes, in which the city was no longer the state, and was in opposition with the Papacy and the kings of Naples. A monarchy instead, found arrayed against it, on the one hand that ancient love of liberty which had made Italy glorious, and on the other the Popes, who, placed in the centre of the Peninsula, too weak to be able to unite it, strong enough to prevent others from uniting it, from time to time called in foreigners who came to turn all things upside down. For all these reasons the Commune, once the strength and greatness of Italy, may be said to have outlived itself in presence of the novel social problems which started up on all sides, and among the thousand dangers welling up in its own bosom. The Commune had proclaimed liberty and equality. How then could the lower classes, who had fought and conquered feudalism side by side with the wealthy merchant class, be content to be excluded from the government?

Neither could the inhabitants of the territory without

* *Opere Inedite*, vol. iii. Storia di Firenze, pp. 8, 9.

the walls, who were bound to take arms in the defence of their country, submit more cheerfully to entire exclusion from every public office, from every right of citizenship. And as the territory increased, and new cities were conquered, the number of the oppressed increased, and passions became inflamed as the disproportion between the small number of the governing and the great number of the governed continually augmented, and all equilibrium became impossible. Had a skilful tyrant then stepped forward, he would have been supported by an infinite multitude of malcontents, to whom he would have appeared in the light of a liberator, or at least in that of an avenger.

And if we turn our eyes from political conditions to social, we shall notice a transformation of equal gravity and equal danger. Looked at from afar, at first sight, the Communes of the Middle Ages appear to be small states in the modern sense of the word; yet in reality they were merely agglomerations of a thousand different associations. Greater guilds (Arti), and lesser guilds, societies and leagues all ordered like so many republics with their assemblies, statutes, tribunals, and ambassadors. These were sometimes stronger than the central government itself of which they did the work when,—as often happens in times of revolution—that was entirely suspended. We might almost say that the strength of the Commune consisted entirely in these associations which divided and governed it. The citizens were so tenaciously attached to them, that often they gave their lives in defence of the republic, merely because

that shielded the existence of the association to which they belonged, and prevented it from falling a prey to others.

Hence the Middle Ages have justly been called the ages of associations and castes. The great number and variety of these produced an infinite variety of characters and passions unknown to the ancient world; but the independence of the modern individual was not yet born, because men were absorbed as it were, in the caste in which and for which they lived. In fact, during a very long period, Italian history seldom tells us the names of the politicians, soldiers, artists, and poets who were the founders and defenders of the Communes; the creators of Italian institutions, letters and arts. They were Guelphs and Ghibellines, major and minor arts or trades, wandering poets, master masons, always associations or parties, never individuals. Even the colossal figures of popes and emperors derive their importance, less from their personal characteristics and qualities, than from the system to which they belonged, or the institution they represented.

All this rapidly disappeared in the fifteenth century. Dante's Titanic form stood out from the mediæval background, in the midst of which he still lived, and he boasted with pride of having been his own party. The names of poets, painters, and party leaders were now frequently heard, and individual characters began to be seen in distinct prominence above the crowd. We behold a general transformation of Italian society, which, after having destroyed feudalism and proclaimed

equality, found itself compelled to dissolve the associations that had helped to constitute it in its new form. And more than elsewhere this is most clearly seen in Florence where the *Ordinamenti di Giustizia* (1293) beat down the nobility and drove them from the government; suppressed certain of the associations; rendered *cliques* impossible; and for the first time placed a Gonfalonier* at the head of the Commune. The necessity of beginning to constitute the unity of the modern state was a natural result of the increasing democratic form assumed by the Commune; this was indeed the weighty problem Italy had to solve in the fifteenth century. But the period of change and transition was beset by a thousand dangers; old institutions fell to pieces before new arose, each individual, abandoned to his own guidance, knew no rule but personal interest and egotism; hence moral corruption became inevitable.

Morality, in the Middle Ages, had its chief basis in the closeness of family bonds and class ties. Of such bonds both law and custom were very jealous guardians: they kept up family inheritances; prevented their being removed by marriage to another Commune; and moreover rendered marriage extremely difficult between persons, not only of different Communes, but even of opposing parties in the same city. Hence in the bosom of each caste we find a great

* I have treated this argument at length in an article entitled *La Republica Florentina al tempo di Dante Alighieri*, published in the *Nuova Antologia*, vol. xi., July 1869, pages 443 and following.

community of interests; tenacious affection and great spirit of sacrifice; much jealousy and frequent acts of hatred and revenge against neighbours. Little by little all this vanished, owing to the breaking up of old ties by political reform, by increased equality, and by the increased application of the imperial Roman law rendering women less subject to the domination of their male relatives. And precisely in the same way in which the Commune had been suddenly left to rely upon its own resources on the cessation of Imperial or Papal supremacy, so the citizen, released from all bonds, found himself in isolated dependence on his own strength. He could no longer feel the old interest in the fate of neighbours who no longer concerned themselves with him; his future, his worldly condition, now solely depended on his own individual qualities. Thus at one and the same time egotism became a power in society and human individuality developed in ever fresh and varying forms. Not only did individual names multiply and ambitious faction-leaders arise on all sides; but the civil wars of the Communes seemed to be converted into personal feuds; cities were divided by the names of their most powerful and turbulent citizens; families split asunder and tore each other to pieces; men no longer recognised the sanctity of any bond. The prejudices, traditions, virtues and vices of the Middle Ages all disappeared to make way for another state of society and other men.

All who take into consideration the double transformation which our Republics have undergone will perceive

that while on the one hand they were weakened by the aggrandisement of their territories, and felt increasing need of a central government of greater strength, bearing more equally upon all, on the other hand in proportion to the loosening of the bonds of caste, the number increased of ambitious and audacious individuals whose only object was the acquisition of power. The outburst of these ambitions at the very time in which the Communes were naturally tending towards monarchical forms, constituted a very serious danger; and thus, as at one time Communes had sprung up all over Italy, so now the hour had struck for the uprising of tyrants.

But whatever his vices, the Italian tyrant had a certain individuality of character, a real historical importance. It was not necessary for him to be of noble or powerful descent, nor even to be the first-born of his house. A tradesman, a bastard, an adventurer of any kind, might command an army, head a revolution, become a tyrant, provided that he had audacity and the talent of success. History records many strange tales of this sort, and the Italian novelists who so faithfully depicted the manners of their times, often cut jests about obscure persons who took it into their heads to try and become tyrants; as for instance of that shoemaker who, as Sacchetti tells us, "wished to possess himself of the lands of Messer Ridolfo da Camerino."* The fifteenth century was rightly styled the age of adventurers and bastards. Borso d'Este at

* Novella XC. edit. Le Monnier, Florence, 1860-61.

Ferrara, Sigismondo Malatesta at Rimini, Francesco Sforza at Milan, Ferdinand of Aragon at Naples, and many other lords and princes were bastards. No one was any longer bound by any conventions or traditions; everything depended on the personal qualities of those who dared to tempt fortune, on the friends and adherents whom they knew how to gain.

Compelled to snatch their power from the midst of a thousand risks and a thousand rivals, they found themselves in a state of perpetual warfare and licence: no scruples forbade violence, treason, or bloodshed. For these men wrong-doing had no limits save those imposed by expediency and personal needs; they looked upon it as a means adapted to reach a desired end. Beyond these limits it became not crime indeed, but folly unworthy of a political man, since it brought no advantage. Their conscience was ignorant of remorse, their reason calculated and measured everything; but even when all difficulties were overcome, and success attained, their dangers were by no means at an end. It was necessary to struggle against the fierce discontent of those who, by force of habit, could not bear to live without taking part in the government; against the savage disappointment of those rival aspirants to tyrannical power who had been forestalled or defeated. When a popular rising was put down by force, daggers were secretly pointed from every side, and plots were all the more cruel, because they bore the stamp of personal revenge; were woven by friends, by members of the family: the nearest relations,—

often brothers,—were seen contending for the throne with sword and poison. Thus the Italian tyrant was, as it were, condemned to reconquer his kingdom daily; and to this end he considered any and every means justifiable.

In this miserable state of things, personal courage, military valour, and a remorseless conscience were not the only qualities required; it was also needful to have great presence of mind, astute cunning, profound knowledge of men and things, and above all complete mastery of personal passions. It was necessary to study social, as we study natural phenomena, to have no illusions, to depend upon nothing but reality. It was imperative for every tyrant thoroughly to understand his own kingdom, and the men among whom he lived, in order to be able to dominate them, to discover a fitting form of government, to build up an administrative system, justice, police, public works, everything in short on the ruins of the past. All power was in fact concentrated in the tyrant's hands, and the unity of the new state came into birth as his personal creation. And with him were born the science and the art of government; but at the same time an opinion was diffused, which afterwards became a very general and fatal error—namely, that laws and institutions are inventions of the statesmen, rather than the natural results of the nation's history and social and civil development. During the Middle Ages, state and history were believed to be the work of Providence, in which human will and reason had no part; during

the Renaissance, on the contrary, everything was thought to be the work of man, who, if foiled in his intents, could blame none but himself and Fortune, who was supposed to have a large share in the ordering of human destinies. In a country divided and subdivided like Italy, these vicissitudes were everywhere multiplied and repeated; and it is easy to imagine how much and in how many different ways they contributed to the corruption of the country. Tyrants sprang up among republics, popes, and Neapolitan kings, and all jealous of one another had recourse to the friendship of neighbours and foreigners, in order to weaken and divide their enemies. Thus plots and intrigues increased *ad infinitum*, and at the same time a strange network of political interests was formed which multiplied the international relations of the different states, caused the first idea of political balance to arise in Italy, and endued our diplomacy with marvellous activity, intelligence, and wisdom. Those were days in which every Italian seemed a born diplomatist: the merchant, the man of letters, the captain of adventurers, knew how to treat and discourse with kings and emperors, with full knowledge of conventional forms, with an acumen and penetration that awaken our admiration. The dispatches of our ambassadors were among the chief historical and literary monuments of those times. The Venetians stood in the first rank for practical good sense and observation of facts, the Florentines for elegance of style and subtle penetration of character, but they

had worthy rivals in the ambassadors of other states. Thus, the art of speaking and writing became a formidable weapon, and one that was highly valued among Italians.

It was then that adventurers, immoveable by threats, prayers, or pity, were seen to yield to the verses of a learned man. Lorenzo di Medici went to Naples, and by force of argument, persuaded Ferrante d'Aragona to put an end to the war and conclude an alliance with him. Alfonso the Magnanimous, a prisoner of Filippo Maria Visconti, and whom all believed dead, was instead honourably liberated because he had the skill to convince that gloomy and cruel tyrant that it would better serve his turn to have the Arragonese at Naples than the followers of Anjou, winding up his argument by saying: "Would'st thou rather satisfy thy appetite than assure thyself the State?"* In a revolution at Prato, got up by Bernardo Nardi, this leader, according to Machiavelli, had already thrown the halter round the neck of the Florentine Podestà when the latter's fine reasoning persuaded him to spare his life; and thus nothing more went well with him.† Such facts may sometimes be exaggerations or even wholly inventions; but seeing them so constantly repeated and believed, proves to us what were the ideas and temper of these men.

Therefore it is not astonishing if even tyrants loved study and ardently encouraged art, literature, and cul-

* Machiavelli *Storie*, vol. xi. lib. v. p. 11. We generally quote the works of this author from the edition of 1813.

† Machiavelli *Storie*, lib. vii. p. 184.

ture in every shape. And this they did, not merely from a keen perception of the art of governing or as a means for turning the people's attention from politics; it was likewise a necessity of their condition, a true and real intellectual need. A well-written diplomatic note, a skilful discourse, could resolve the gravest political questions. To what did the Italian tyrant owe his own dominion, if not to his own intelligence? How could he be indifferent to the arts which educated it and increased his importance? His happiest hours of rest from state affairs were passed among books, literati, and artists. The museum and the library were to him that which the stable and the cellar were to many feudal lords of the north; everything that could cultivate or refine the mind was a necessary element of his life: in his palace the perfect courtier was formed, the modern gentleman came into existence.

There was, however, a strange contradiction in the men of that period, a contradiction that often appears to us an insoluble enigma. We can forgive the savage passions and crimes of the Middle Ages, or we can at all events understand them, but to behold men who speak and think like ourselves, men who experience genuine delight before one of Fra Angelico's or Luca della Robbia's Madonnas, before the aerial curves of Alberti's and Brunelleschi's architecture, men who show disgust at a coarse attitude, at a gesture that is not of the most finished elegance; to behold these men abandon themselves to the most atrocious crimes, the most obscene vices; to behold them using

poison to dismiss from the world some dangerous rival or relative: this it is that we cannot comprehend. It was a transitional period in which it may be said that the passions and characteristics of two different ages had been grafted one upon the other, in order to form before our eyes a mysterious sphinx which excites our wonder and almost our fear. But we should be too severe towards it were we to forget that one age cannot be judged by the creeds and rules of another.

In whatever direction we turn our eyes, we behold the same facts reproduced under different forms. The military forces of the fifteenth century were no longer those of the Middle Ages, and, though widely different from, gave birth to the modern army. In the times of the Communes, wars were carried on by lightly armed foot-soldiers. Every spring the merchant, the artizan, buckled on their breastplates, marched outside the walls to the attack of baronial castles and neighbouring lands, and then went quietly back to their workshops. Very little importance was given to cavalry, which, for the most part, consisted of nobles. But as time went on all this entirely changed. Wars became much more complicated, and an army's main strength consisted in the heavy cavalry, or, as the phrase went, in the men-at-arms. Each one of these was followed by two or three horsemen, bearing the heavy armour, which he and his charger only donned in the hour of action, for its weight was so terrible, that if they fell to the ground with it, they could not rise again without help. And this species of iron-clad tower wielded

a lance of enormous length, with which he could overthrow a foot soldier before the latter could reach him with halberd or sword. One squadron of this cavalry was always enough to rout an army of infantry, until the invention of gunpowder and improvement of fire-arms again transformed the art of war. The Florentines learnt this to their cost, when on the field of Montaperti (1260) a handful of German cavalry, joined to the Ghibelline exiles, put to rout the strongest infantry force ever collected in Tuscany. And at Campaldino (1289) the Tuscan foot had to throw themselves under the horses of the men-at-arms and rip them up, before they could win the battle. This new method of fighting had a fatal result for our republics. It requires long training and continual practice to form a good man-at-arms; how could artizans and merchants find the time for it? There were no standing armies in those days, and the aristocracy, which alone could have been trained to live under arms, had been destroyed in the Italian Communes. What then was to be done? Recourse was had to foreigners, and the use of mercenary troops began.

In other countries the aristocracy preserved its power; and therefore men abounded who made fighting their profession. These were always nobles with a following of vassals. Every time that the Emperor descended upon Italy, every time that the party of Anjou resumed their continual enterprises upon Naples, or the Spaniards made some new raid, there remained behind at the end of each war a number of soldiers and disbanded troops, who,

eager of adventure, sought and took service under the different lords and Republics. The first arrivals always attracted others, for bountiful pay was given, and foreigners found us easy prey by reason of our lack of men-at-arms. Bands of adventurers began to be formed who sold their swords to the highest bidder. They soon became insolent bullies, who dictated laws to friends and enemies alike. But little by little the Italians began to enrol themselves under these banners, and fascinated by the new way of life, multiplied so rapidly and succeeded so well that they soon set about forming native companies. Certainly there was no lack of material among us for captains and soldiers. What else had the party leaders to do who had been defeated in their ambitious designs by still more ambitious rivals? They hurried to join the first band of adventurers they could find, and trained themselves to arms in order to command later a squadron or company of their own. By serving under a noted leader, or gathering a band, the pettiest tyrants were enabled to defend and aggrandize their own State. When one Republic was conquered and subdued by another, the citizens who had ruled and then unsuccessfully defended it, sometimes emigrated *en masse* to wander about as adventurers, and sought in warfare the liberty they had lost at home. Thus did the Pisans when their Republic fell into the hands of the Florentines, and thus did many others. Country districts gave a good number of soldiers, and certain provinces like Romagna, the Marshes, and Umbria—where anarchy was so great that men seemed

to live by rapine, vengeance, and brigandage—were a nursery and mart of mercenary leaders and soldiers.

These bands can neither be called a mediæval nor a modern institution. Proper to a transitional period, they had a temporary character, being made up of fragments of all the recently destroyed old institutions, and were altogether disastrous; but nevertheless they are imbued with the spirit of the new Italian Renaissance, and hence it is that they derive their importance. Our Italian companies soon began to have the upper hand over the foreign—especially after Alberico da Barbiano had created his new art of war—and assumed a different form and character. For the foreign bands were commanded by a council of leaders, each one of whom had great authority over his own men, who were generally, at least in part, his private vassals, who were ready to follow him and separate from the others whenever necessary. In Italy, on the contrary, the importance and strength of the band depended entirely on the valour and military genius of the man who commanded and almost personified it. The soldiers obeyed the supreme will of their head, without, however, being bound to him by any personal fealty or submission, and were ready to forsake him in favour of a more famous leader or higher pay. War became the work of a directing mind; the army was held together by the name and courage of its commander; every battle was, as it were, his own military creation.

Thus was formed the school of Alberico da Barbiano, to be speedily followed by those of Braccio da Montone,

the Sforza, the Piccinini, and many others, this one learning his trade in the other's ranks. The Italian captain created the science and art of war, as the prince created the science and art of government. Both in one and the other were the highest manifestations of talent and individuality; in both the one and the other the moral strength was lacking which alone can give true stability to the works of man. The individual was nowhere more free from the conventional ties of the Middle-Ages than in these bands; his fame and power alike depended solely on his own courage, his own genius.

Muzio Attendolo Sforza, one of the most terrible captains of his time, and who became High Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, had originally been a field-labourer, and began his military career as a stable-boy. His natural son, Francesco, was Duke of Milan. Carmagnola, commander-in-chief of the Venetian's most formidable armies, and lord of many estates, began life as a herdsman. Niccolò Piccinini, before becoming a famous captain, was a member of the guild of butchers in Perugia. Nor did these things cause the smallest surprise to any one. The free company was an open field to individual activity; strength, luck, and talent alone commanded in it; there were no traditional nor moral trammels of any sort. The Free Companies made war without serving any principle or any fatherland, transferring their aid from friends to enemies for higher pay or finer promises. As for military honour, maintenance of oaths, fidelity to his own banner, all such

things were unknown to the free captain, who would have deemed it puerile and ridiculous to allow such obstacles to stop him on the road to fortune and power, —the sole objects of his life.

In many respects his career and character resembled those of the Italian tyrant. At the head of a complicated and difficult administration, he had daily to collect new soldiers, in order to fill vacancies in his ranks, caused more frequently by desertion than by the sword of the enemy, and he had daily to find the money for paying his men in peace and war. He was in continual relations with the Italian States, seeking employment and getting money by threats and promises, and corresponding with those who made the highest bids to carry him off from their adversary. He was, in fact, like the lord of some city that moved from place to place, a circumstance that did not make it easier to govern; and like the tyrant, he lived in perpetual danger, and more so when at peace than in war. He found himself threatened by the jealousies of the other leaders of bands or companies; by the ambition of his subordinates, who often plotted conspiracies against him; also by fear of being left without an engagement, and having to disband his army for want of funds. Having no certainty of his good faith, the States he served always held him in suspicion, and from doubts passed readily to deeds, as was seen by the fate of Carmagnola and Paolo Vitelli, suddenly seized and beheaded, the one by the Venetians, the other by the Florentines, at the head of whose armies they fought. It was singular, too, to see these men—

generally of low origin and devoid of culture—surrounded in their camps by ambassadors, poets, and learned men, who read to them Livy and Cicero, and verses of their own, in which they were compared to Scipio and Hannibal, to Cæsar and Alexander. When, as very often happened, they conquered some territory on their own account, or received it in return for their services, they were really captains and princes at the same time.

Thus, then, war became a kind of diplomatic and commercial operation for the Italian States; he was the conqueror who could find most money, procure most friends, and best flatter and reward the celebrated captains whose fidelity was only to be kept alive by fresh money and fresh hopes. But soon the true military spirit began to perish among these soldiers, who fought to-day against their comrades of yesterday, with whom they might be again united in the next four-and-twenty hours. Their object was no longer victory, but booty. Later the Free Companies disappeared altogether, to be replaced by the standing armies for whom they had prepared the way; but they left behind them a load of heavy calamities, during which Italians gave proof of much talent and great courage; founded the new art of war; manifested an infinite variety of aptitudes, qualities, and military characteristics; and yet became continually weaker, continually more corrupt.

In literature we see more clearly than elsewhere the general transformation that took place at this

time. Our historians in general deplore, without seeming to understand why the Italians, after having created a splendid national literature by the *Divina Commedia*, the *Decamerone*, and the *Canzoniere*,* should have gone astray from the glorious path, by turning to the imitation of ancient writers, almost despising their own tongue, and upholding the use of Latin. But on reading the works of Dante and Petrarch and Boccaccio, it is easy to perceive that these authors opened the path trodden by the fifteenth century. In the *Divina Commedia* antiquity holds throughout a post of honour, and is almost sanctified by a boundless admiration; in the *Decameron* Latin periods already transform and transplace Italian periods; Petrarch is undoubtedly the first of the men of learning.

Whoever compares Italian writers of the thirteenth century with those appearing at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, will speedily see that the time spent upon the classics during that interval has not been thrown away. In fact, in reading, I will not say the *Fioretti di San Francesco* and the *Vite* of Cavalca, but the *Monarchia* and the *Convito* of Dante, and even the *Divina Commedia*, we must, as it were, transport ourselves into another world; the author frequently reasons in the old scholastic style; neither observes nor sees the world as we see it. If, on the other hand, we look at the works of Guicciardini, Machiavelli, and their contemporaries, we find men who, even with different

* The Sonnets of Petrarch.

opinions, think and reason like ourselves. The scholastic systems, mysticism, and allegories of the Middle Ages have so entirely disappeared that no memory of them seems any longer to exist. We are on this earth, in the midst of reality, with men who no longer look upon the world through a fantastic veil of mystic illusion, but with their own eyes, their own reason, unenslaved by any authority. And thus the question arises: in what way did the scholars of the fifteenth century contrive to discover a new world by means of classical studies, almost as Columbus discovered America in seeking a fresh passage to the Indies?

The Middle Ages, in order to re-awaken a new spiritual life in mankind, had despised earthly concerns and the needs of society, had subjected philosophy to theology, the State to the Church. The real was only considered useful as a symbol or allegory to express the ideal, the earthly city merely a preparation for the heavenly; there was a reaction against all that had been the essence of Paganism, the inspiration of ancient art. Thus human reason remained shut up in scholastic syllogisms, in the clouds of mysticism, in the fantastic and complicated creations of the romances of chivalry and minstrelsy of Provence. But when with a sudden rush of new inspiration, Italian poetry and prose sprang up to describe the real passions and affections of mankind, sentence of death was passed on the world of the Middle Ages.* The old vague and fantastic forms

* My excellent colleague and friend, Professor A. Bartoli, in one of his *Memorie* among the *Pubblicazioni della Sezione di Filosofia e Filologia dell'*

could not stand against these new and precise analyses, this splendid imagery, this style and language, through which thought shines as through the purest crystal. This literature, however, in giving a new direction to the human mind, soon gave birth to new needs, all of which it could not satisfy. It is true that a poetic language was now in existence, that incomparable forms had been found for the tale, the sonnet, the song, and the poem; but the new philosophical, epistolary, oratorical, and historical styles were still unborn. For this reason the writer of the thirteenth century very often resembled a man who, in spite of having strong limbs, travels a road so narrow and so beset with obstacles, that he cannot walk without help; in order not to fall he is obliged from time to time to support himself on scholastic crutches. Who can help perceiving that Dante himself had still one foot in the Middle Ages, when in his *Monarchia* we find him disputing if the Pope ought to be compared to the sun, and the Emperor to the moon; whether the fact of Samuel deposing Saul, and the offerings of the Magi to the infant Saviour, can prove the dependency of the empire on the Church? In reading the *Cronaca* of Giovanni Villani, we find not merely a writer of much graphic power, but a most

Instituto Superiore (Florence, Le Monnier & Co., 1875, vol. i. p. 351 following), has recently shown that the study of nature, as well as of the classics, had followers throughout the Middle Ages, and hence that the realism of the Renaissance had a more ancient origin than is generally believed. We, however, only treat of this historical period after it had already assumed a definite and determined form; we do not explore its more remote origin.

acute observer, whom nothing escapes, a man practised in the world and its affairs. He sees and notes everything; battles, revolutions both political and social, forms of government, new buildings, pictures and literary works, the industry, commerce, taxes, expenditure, and revenues of the republic; for he sees that human society is composed of all these things, and that from them is derived the power and prosperity of States. Yet never once does he hit upon that logical unity of historic narration which connects all these elements together, and makes the connecting bond visible; his work never rises above the modest limits of a chronicle. And whenever the writer of the thirteenth century treats of philosophy or politics, whenever he tries to compose an oration or a letter, he seems condemned to return to the fetters which he has broken.

It was necessary, therefore, to enlarge the limits of style; to spread the language; to render it more universal, more flexible; to find out new literary forms which were still wanting, and which had become necessary. And this want began to be felt at the same moment in which the young and vigorous growth of the national strength had been arrested by the political and social complications which we have already noted. Thus the spring of originality suddenly failed which had already created our literature, and which alone could complete it, by leading it towards the new forms it sought. But as these forms are not changeable at will, but are determined by the laws of nature and of thought, and were first discovered by the Greeks and the Romans, in

whose writings they still maintain all the vigour, splendour, and originality which works of art possess only at the moment of their first creation, a return towards the past presented itself as a natural means of progress, and the close relation of Italian culture to Latin made it seem like a new draught from the original source, a return to the old national grandeur. The Greeks and the Latins offered to Italy a literature inspired by nature and reality, guided by reason alone, not subject to any authority, nor shrouded in any allegorical veil, in any mysticism; to imitate this literature, then, was to break the last fetters of the Middle Ages. Thus in all things the impulse was towards the ancient world. It was there that painting and sculpture found the perfected study of the human form and faultlessness of design; it was there that architecture discovered a more solid mode of construction, and one better adapted to the various needs of social life; it was there that the man of letters found that mastery of style of which he was in search, and the philosopher, independence of reason and observation of nature; it was there, in the Roman world, that the politician beheld that State unity which not only science, but society itself, was then seeking as its necessary aim.

The imitation of the antique was a sort of mania that seized upon all men; tyrants wished to imitate Cæsar and Augustus, republicans Brutus, free captains Scipio and Hannibal, philosophers Aristotle and Plato, men of letters Virgil and Cicero, even the names of persons and places were changed for Greek and Latin ones.

The Middle Ages had certainly not neglected all the ancient writers; for certain of them were held in almost religious respect. But mediæval classic learning was, with slight exception, very different from that which now arose. It had been restricted to a small number of the more recent Latin writers, who having lived under the Empire which still seemed to dominate the world, and was deemed immutable and immortal, were less removed from Christian ideas, were read almost as contemporary authors; and whose works were twisted and bent to support the tenets of Christianity. Virgil prophesies the coming of Christ; Cicero's ethics must be identical with those of the Gospels and Aristotle, known only in Latin translations and garbled by his commentators, was made to maintain the immortality and spirituality of the soul in which he had no belief. The tastes and desires of the fifteenth century were widely different. There was no desire now to transform the Pagan world into the Christian; this century wished to go back to the former which led it back from the city of God to that of men, from heaven to earth. Therefore a knowledge of the most recent classic writers was no longer sufficient; it was necessary to read all and the most ancient with most ardour, since they demanded a greater mental effort, and rendered necessary a longer ideal journey. For that reason ancient manuscripts were eagerly hunted for and commented upon, ancient monuments discussed with a feverish activity unexampled in history. It seemed as though the Italians wished not

only to imitate the ancient world, but to raise it from its tomb and bring it to life again, since in it they felt that they learnt to know themselves, and entered, as it were, into a second life; it was a true and genuine renaissance. And they never perceived that their imitations and reproductions were animated by a new spirit that went on gradually developing, at first in an invisible and hidden way, till at last it burst suddenly from its chrysalis, and shone forth in a national and modern shape. Thus it was by study of the ancients that the Italians were enabled to free themselves and Europe from the fetters of the Middle Ages, and instead of interrupting, they continued and completed in a different form the work begun by the writers of the thirteenth century.

The new literary and artistic productions were not, however, the result of a young and vigorous inspiration, born of a young and vigorous society,—such as that in which Dante lived,—full of ardour and faith, abounding in strong characters and stern passions. Produced at a period in which a feverish activity of the mind still continued, but the noblest aspirations of the human heart had ceased to exist, they showed the consequences of such a state of things. Marvellous success is attained in all branches in which visible nature and the outer study of man and man's actions have the principal part. The fine arts, still plastic in their nature, lost the epic grandeur of Giotto and Orcagna, the religious inspiration of the old Christian cathedrals; and assimilating classical forms—although unconsciously

altering them—they were inspired by Grecian genius to imitate nature and reproduce it in their new and spontaneous creations, surrounded by an ethereal veil, with colours of unequalled brilliancy and freshness. It is an art that, through the ingrafting of Christian upon Pagan forms, acquires new spontaneousness and purity; sheds immortal glory on its age and nation, and was the most complete manifestation of the Renaissance from which it was derived and to which it communicated its own special character. The poetry of this period was also unrivalled in its descriptions and reproductions of the real which stood out clear and well defined, even amidst the most fantastic creations of the chivalric and heroi-comic poem. Political science, which treats of human actions in their objective and exterior value, in their practical consequences, almost apart from the moral character they acquire in the human conscience, and the intentions by which they are inspired, not only flourished, but was the most original creation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Men worked with irresistible energy; they sought and found all possible forms of literature; they acquired immense truth and facility in prose and poetry; they created the language and style of oratory, diplomacy, history, and philosophy, but the religious sentiment disappeared; moral sensibility was weakened, and the cultivation of form often increased to the disadvantage of substance, a defect which has endured for centuries in Italian literature, almost as a witness of the conditions under which it took its definite form. In

considering this prodigious intellectual activity, which reappeared with increasing splendour in a thousand different shapes, yet always accompanied by moral decay, the historian of those times is struck with terrified amazement, recognising the presence of a mysterious contradiction, prophetic of future ills. When the evil secretly corroding this nation came to the surface, a tremendous catastrophe was inevitable; and its continual advance side by side with so much intellectual progress, is precisely the history of the Renaissance. For the better comprehension of this, it is needful to examine matters still more closely.

II.

THE PRINCIPAL ITALIAN STATES.

1. *Milan.*

AT Milan, for the first time, we find an Italian Commune transformed, through tyranny, into a modern State. Having become the centre of a vast agglomeration of republics and lordships, now united and now separated by different interests and jealousies, there arose in its midst the power of the Visconti, who were divided among themselves by private and bloody dissensions. In 1378, Bernabò Visconti was in conflict with his nephew Giovan Galeazzo, better known by his title of Count of Virtù. Both equally ambitious and equally wicked, the first was a blind slave to his passions, and in consequence fell a victim to his nephew, who knew how to direct his own towards a given end. The latter succeeded in 1378 in throwing him and his children into a dungeon, which they never left alive; and these obstacles removed, he began vigorously to re-organise the State and put down anarchy.

Beset by a thousand enemies, Giovan Galeazzo had no army, and was even deficient in military courage;

but he joined to great cunning a profound knowledge of mankind, and real political genius. Shut up in his castle of Pavia, he took into his service the first captains in Italy, and the most renowned diplomatists, stretching, with the help of the latter, the threads of his dark policy all over the Peninsula, which he quickly filled with intrigues and wars; he, the while, directing military operations in the solitude of his cabinet.

Thanks to his sureness of eye and promptness of will, he succeeded in making a complete sacrifice of the petty tyrants of Lombardy, allying himself with one to ruin another, and finally turning against those who had helped him, and making himself master of their States. Thus he formed the Duchy of Milan, of which he received the investiture from the Emperor. He then extended his dominions to Genoa, Bologna, and Tuscany, and hoped to place the crown of Italy upon his head, after defeating Florence, which he had already worn out by continual wars. But on the 3d December 1402, death put an end to all his projects. It is marvellous to observe how, in the privacy of his cabinet, he undertook many skilfully conducted wars, which he brought to a successful close, while at the same time he was engaged in creating and ordering a new State. Although the chief object of his government was the imposition of taxes to pay for his incessant warfare, justice was generally well administered, the finances were well regulated, and general prosperity was on the increase. The free assemblies were converted into councils of administration and

police, and every city had a *Potestà*, elected, no longer by the people, but by the Duke; the Commune was no longer a State, but, as in modern times, an organ of administration; a *collegio*, or council of men of authority in the capital, already shadowed forth the modern cabinet. Surrounded by *literati* and artists—initiator of great public works, among which are the two noblest monuments in Lombardy—the Cathedral of Milan and the Certosa of Pavia, where, too, he gave new life and renown to the university—Gian Galeazzo Visconti is the first of modern princes. Under his rule mediæval institutions entirely disappeared, and the unity of the new State was established. This, however, being an altogether personal creation, with no object beyond the individual interest of the prince, after his death the State quickly fell back into anarchy, lacerated by the contending ambitions of mercenary leaders.

Later, Filippo Maria, son of Giovan Galeazzo, took in hand the reins of government, to follow in his father's footsteps. He had been compelled to share the State with his brother Giovanni Maria, a ferocious man, who threw his victims to be torn to pieces by dogs, of which he kept a large pack for that purpose; but the daggers of conspirators came to Filippo's aid, and on the 12th of May 1412 Giovanni was stabbed in a church. Filippo was a degenerate copy of his father, cunning, false, traitorous, and cruel; he did not possess Giovan Galeazzo's political faculty, but he united perfect control over his passions to a wide knowledge of mankind. Timid even to cowardice, he had the strangest

passion for throwing himself into continual and dangerous wars. These, however, he conducted by means of the first captains in Italy, selected with admirable discrimination, and whom he contrived to make each in turn suspicious of the other, in order to secure his own safety from their ambition. 'Surrounded by spies, shut up in his castle of Milan, which he never left, he duped everybody, always finding fresh opportunities of deceit; he lived in perpetual conflict with other States, yet always escaped defeat by craft. The Florentines were routed by him at Zagonara in 1424; by the Venetians, whom he always opposed, he was defeated over and over again; but after making peace—not always on honourable terms—he quickly collected more money and again declared war. He even threw himself into the Neapolitan struggle between the Angevins and the Arragonese, and succeeded in taking prisoner Alphonso of Arragon, whom he afterwards liberated, in order to deprive the Angevins of complete victory. In the midst of the great tumult of events and enemies that he had provoked, he reconquered and resettled the paternal State, and held it securely by force of his diabolical cunning up to the day of his death in 1447.

He had no legitimate heirs, only one natural daughter, Bianca, and this had made his condition still more perilous, since there were so many who aspired to succeed him. Among them was one, recognised throughout Italy as the first captain of his time, to whose aid Visconti was continually obliged to recur,

as he found himself perpetually at his mercy. Francesco Sforza was a lion who knew how to play the fox, and Filippo Maria was a fox who liked to don the lion's skin. They went on for many years, each lying in ambush for the other, and each thoroughly awake to the other's secret designs. Often and often Sforza was on the brink of total ruin, ensnared in the plots of Visconti, who then came to his assistance. In 1441 Filippo gave him his daughter in marriage, thus nourishing his most ambitious hopes, the better to make use of him in war, yet always weaving fresh plots against him, from which, on his side, Sforza as often escaped without ever yielding to any wish for revenge. And in this way, when, after a reign of nearly fifty years, Visconti died a natural death, Sforza had power enough to succeed in his long meditated design.

And now one dynasty is replaced by another, and the Italian prince is presented to us under a totally different aspect. The Viscontis had been a great family, and by cunning, daring, and political genius, had become masters of the Duchy they had built up. The Sforzas, on the contrary, were new men, of obscure origin, and fought their way with the sword. Muzio Attendolo, the father of Francesco Sforza, was born of a Romagnol family, living a life of semi-brigandage and hereditary *vendettas* in Cotignola. It is said that the kitchen of their house looked like an arsenal: among dishes and smoky saucepans hung breastplates, swords, and daggers, which the family, men, women, and children, all used with equal courage. While yet a mere lad, Muzio was carried off by a band

of adventurers, and being shortly afterwards joined by his own people, he took the command of his company, and was known by the name of Sforza, which was given to him in the field. Possessed of indomitable courage, strength and energy, he was less a general than a soldier who joined in the *melée* and killed his enemies with his own hands. Of a very impetuous disposition, some of his actions were those of a brigand, as for instance when he ran his sword through Ottobuono III. of Parma, while parleying with the Marquis of Este. Yet by perpetually transferring his services from one master to another, carrying disorder and devastation wherever he went, he succeeded in becoming lord of many lands, which he kept for himself and his faithful followers. It was in the kingdom of Naples, while in the pay of the capricious queen, Joanna II., that he passed through his chief and strangest vicissitudes: first general, then prisoner, now High Constable of the kingdom, then once more in prison, he was on the point of perishing miserably, when at Tricarico his sister Margherita, sword in hand, and a helmet on her head, so thoroughly frightened the royal messengers that she obtained her brother's release. He was again given the command of the royal forces, and afterwards died near Aquila, drowned in the Pescara river, while swimming across it to urge his men to follow him on to a victory that seemed already assured. And thus ended a life no less stormy than the sea in which his body found a grave (1424).

Francesco, his natural son, a youth of twenty-three years, instantly took command of his father's troops, and led them on from victory to victory, giving proof of true military genius and great political acumen. Always master of himself, he never gave way to his passions, excepting when it was expedient to do so. He served the Visconti against the Venetians, the Venetians against the Visconti; he first attacked the Pope, depriving him of Romagna, and giving his orders, *invitis Petro et Paulo*, and then defended him. Through his military genius he became the man whom all desired to have in their service, for it seemed as though no power in Italy could be victorious without him, although captains such as the Piccinini and Carmagnola were then flourishing. But amidst all these vicissitudes he kept his eye upon one fixed point, and on the death of Filippo Maria, it was quickly seen how a free captain could change into a statesman.

A Republic had been proclaimed in Milan; its subject cities had thrown off the yoke; Venice was threatening, and internal dissensions had broken out. He offered the aid of his sword to the tottering city, which believed it had found in him an anchor of safety, and then gradually found itself besieged by its own captain, who, on the 25th March 1430, made his triumphal entry, with an already arranged court. His first act was to ask the people whether, to defend themselves against the Venetians, they would prefer to rebuild the fortress of Porta Giovio, or maintain a permanent army within the walls. They voted for the fortress, which soon

became the strongest bulwark of tyranny against the people. Friends and enemies alike, if formidable, were quickly imprisoned, deprived of everything they possessed, and even put to death without hesitation. All the State territories were reconquered, rebellion was suppressed, order, administration, and common justice were re-established with marvellous rapidity. And in all these acts Sforza proceeded with the calmness of a man who knows his own strength, and who desires to gain a reputation for impartiality and justice. Yet, whenever it seemed opportune, no one knew better than he how to get rid of friends and enemies with perfidious cruelty.

The Revolt of Piacenza was suffocated in the blood of his faithful captain, Brandolini. When the slaughter had reached its climax, and everything was pacified, to the general amazement Brandolini was thrown into prison as a suspected person, and was afterwards found with his throat cut, and a blunted and bloody sword by his side. The populace said that the Duke had thus punished his captain's excessive cruelty; the keener witted declared that the Duke, after having used him to the utmost, had got rid of a useless instrument, so that on the latter alone the odium of the enormous bloodshed might fall. Born and reared in war, the Duke now wished to be a man of peace, and aimed only at the consolidation of his own State within its natural boundaries, totally abandoning the ambitious and perilous designs of the Visconti. And when, after an almost universal, but not very important war, the Italian potentates con-

cluded a general peace in 1454, Sforza contrived to make himself implicitly recognised by all, and retained the territories of Bergamo, Ghiara d'Adda, and Brescia. Noted as one of the most audacious and turbulent free captains, he was in a position to know what heavy calamities they bring upon orderly and pacific States; hence he was one of those who chiefly contributed, if not to put them down, at least to deprive them of much of their past importance, as indeed was already happening by the natural force of events. Jacopo Piccinini was now the sole survivor of the old school of mercenary leaders, and he certainly was one who had only to raise his standard to assemble a formidable army. He was living quietly in Milan, when he was seized by a desire to visit his lands in the kingdom of Naples, and was much encouraged in this by the Duke, although every one knew how sorely he was hated by Ferrante d'Aragona. No sooner did he reach Naples than he was received with open arms by the king, who took him to see the palace, and then threw him into a dungeon, where he soon died. Sforza protested loudly against this violation of faith; but all men believed that by agreement with the king, he had thus freed himself of an inconvenient neighbour.

Francesco Sforza was, as a modern historian* happily expresses it, a man after the heart of the

* Burckhardt: "*Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*:" Basle, 1860. Since then a second edition of this important work, with several changes and additions, has appeared, and now a very faithful Italian translation has been published by Professor D. Valbusa, with many original additions and corrections by the author, "*La Civiltà del secolo del rinascimento in Italia ec.*" Florence, Sansoni, 1876.

fifteenth century. A great captain and an acute politician, he knew how to play both the lion and the fox; when bloodshed was necessary, he did not shrink from it, but at other times he sought to distribute impartial justice, and even showed himself capable of generosity and pity. He founded a dynasty, he conquered a dominion, which he left secure and well governed, he constructed great public works, like the Martesana Canal and the chief hospital of Milan. Surrounded by Greek exiles and Italian scholars, the Court of the whilom adventurer speedily became one of the most splendid of all Italy, and his daughter Ippolita was renowned for her Latin discourses, which were universally extolled. The famous Cicco (Francesco) Simonetta, a most learned Calabrian, and a man of proved fidelity, was the Duke's secretary, his brother Giovanni was his historian, and Francesco Filelfo, the courtier poet, sang his praises in the *Sforziade.* Thus, celebrated in prose and verse as the just, the great, the magnanimous, Francesco Sforza breathed his last on the 8th March 1466. He had attempted all things, succeeded in all things, therefore his contemporaries believed him the greatest man of the age. But of what nature was the State that he had actually constituted? A society whose strength of all kinds was rapidly exhausted; a people whom its sovereign believed he could mould into any form he would, as if they were plastic material in the hands of a new artist, whose sole merit consists in carrying out the ends he proposes, whatever those ends may be. Neither the

Visconti nor Sforza ever conceived any truly great or fertile political idea, for they never amalgamated themselves with the people, but only made it an instrument of their own interests. They were masters in the art of governing, but they never succeeded in founding a true government, for by their own tyranny they had destroyed its essential elements. The fatal consequences of their policy, which was too truly the Italian policy of the fifteenth century, were to be speedily made apparent throughout the Peninsula, just as on the Duke's death they began to manifest themselves in Milan.

Sforza's dissolute and cruel son, Galeazzo Maria, had so depraved a disposition that he was even accused of having poisoned his own mother. In the belief that all was lawful and possible for a prince, he, in an age that might almost be called civilised, caused several of his subjects to be buried alive, others, on the most frivolous pretexts, he condemned to death amid lingering tortures, and only spared those who could redeem their lives with gold. He dissipated treasures in his festivals at Milan, and the progresses that he made about Italy, spreading corruption wherever he went. Not content with seducing the daughters of the noblest Milanese houses, he himself exposed them to public contempt. No public institutions nor popular indignation could impose a check upon his unbridled licence, for the people no longer existed, and all institutions had become mere engines of tyranny.

At last an end was put to this state of things by one

of the most singular and noteworthy of the many conspiracies for which this age was remarkable.

Girolamo Olgiati and Giannandrea Lampugnani, pupils of Niccola Montano, who had trained them by classical studies to love of liberty and hatred of tyranny, were injured by the Duke; they resolved on revenge, and found in Carlo Visconti a third companion animated by the same motives. They excited themselves to the enterprise by the study of Sallust and Tacitus, they practised stabbing with the sheaths of daggers, and, having arranged everything for the 26th December 1476, Olgiati, going into the church of St Ambrose, threw himself at the Saint's feet, praying him not to let the blow fail. On the morning of the chosen day the three conspirators attended divine service in the church of St. Stephen, and recited a Latin prayer expressly composed by Visconti:—"If thou lovest justice and hatest iniquity," they besought the Saint, "fashion our magnanimous enterprise, and be not wrathful if we must presently stain thy altars with blood, in order to free the world of a monster." The Duke was killed, but Visconti and Lampugnani fell victims to the fury of the populace, who wished to revenge their own executioner. Olgiati sought safety in flight, but was soon captured and condemned to a cruel death. When shattered by torture, he called to his aid the shades of the Romans, and commended his soul to the Virgin Mary. Being urged to repent, he declared that had he to die ten times over amid those tortures, ten times would he cheerfully consecrate his blood to so heroic a deed. Up to his last

moments he continued to compose Latin epigrams, congratulating himself when they were neatly turned; and as the headsman drew near, his last words were:—"*Collige te, Hieronyme, stabit vetus memoria facti. Mors acerba fama perpetua.*"* Here we see that while all political feeling was extinguished in the people, there were a few individuals in whom Christian and profane sentiments, love of liberty, and ferocious personal hatred, heroic resignation and unquenchable thirst for blood, vengeance, and glory, were all mingled in the strangest way. Ruins of old systems and remains of various civilisations were confused together in the Italian mind, while the germ was budding of a new individual and social form, which has as yet no well defined outline. Later, Lodovico il Moro, the late Duke's brother, an ambitious, timid, restless man, usurped his nephew Galeazzo's dominions, and, to keep up his unjustly acquired power, threw all Italy into confusion, as we shall have occasion to notice, when, after examining the condition of the different States, we shall give a general glance at the whole Peninsula.

2. *Florence.*

The history of Florence carries us into a condition of things widely different from that of Milan. At

* Machiavelli says instead: *Mors acerba, fama perpetua, stabit vetus memoria facti. Storie*, Vol. II., lib. vii., p. 203. Olgiati's confession is found in Corio. See also Rosmini's *Storia di Milano*, Vol. III. p. 23; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom* (zweite Auflage), Vol. VII., p. 241 and fol.; *Cola Montano, Studii storici* di Gerolamo Lorenzi Milan, 1875.

first sight, it seems as though we were plunged in a huge chaos of confused events of which we can understand neither the reason nor the aim. But on closer examination we find a conducting thread, and one sees how the Florentine Republic, amid an infinite series of revolutionary changes, and every political institution known to the Middle Ages, steadily aimed at the triumph of the democracy, the total destruction of feudalism, and achieved these objects by means of Giano della Bella's *Ordinamenti della Giustizia* in the year 1493. From that date Florence became exclusively a city of traders, was no longer divided between nobles and burghers, but between *fat* people and *small* people (*popolo grasso* and *popolo minuto*), into major and minor arts or guilds. Of these, the former were engaged in wholesale commerce and the great business of exportation and importation, while the latter carried on the retail traffic and internal trade of the city. From this arose division and often collision of interests, and thence the new formation of political parties. Whenever it was a question of aggrandising the territory of the Republic; of making war upon Pisa to keep open the way to the sea, or upon Sienna to monopolise trade with Rome; or of repulsing the continual and threatening attacks of the Viscontis of Milan, government invariably fell into the hands of the Arti Maggiori, who were richer, more enterprising and better able to comprehend and guard the important interests of the State beyond its boundaries. But, when war was at an end, and peace re-established, then im-

mediately the Arti Minori, spurred on by the lowest populace, rose in rebellion against the new aristocracy of wealth which oppressed them with continual wars and taxes, and demanded increased liberty and more general equality.

These continual alternations lasted more than a century, up to the time, that is, when the territory of the Republic was constituted, and the prolonged wars with Milan came to an end. Then the final triumph of the minor guilds became inevitable, and it was their inexperience and intemperance that smoothed the way for the establishment of the tyranny of the Medici.

It would, however, be a mistake to imagine that the Medici rose to power by the same means and artifices employed by the Visconti and the Sforza. Had any one arbitrarily attempted to torture the citizens of Florence, to bury any of them alive, or to have them torn to pieces by dogs, as did the Lords of Milan, he would have been instantly swept away by the popular indignation, and by the union of the Greater and Lesser guilds. The importance and political speciality of the Medici consisted precisely in the fact that their victory was the result of traditional rules of conduct carried out by that family, for more than a century, with unrivalled constancy and acuteness, so that they contrived to consolidate their power without having recourse to violence. And to have succeeded in this in a city so acute, so restless, so jealous of its ancient liberties, was a proof of true political genius. As

far back as 1378, during the disorderly revolt of the Ciompi, we find the hand of Salvestro di Medici, who, although belonging to the greater guilds, assisted and spurred on the lesser to overthrow their power, thus achieving great popularity. That tumult being suppressed, and war having again broken out—the greater guilds and the Albizzi family being therefore once more in power—we find Vieri dei Medici leading a quiet life, always devoted to money-making. He never ceased, however, to show himself favourable to the popular party, in which he contrived to gain so much influence that Machiavelli said of him:—"That, had he been more ambitious than good, he might, without hindrance, have made himself master of the city."*

But Vieri understood too well the temper of the times, and was content to wait and prepare the way for his son Giovanni, who was the true political founder of his house. This latter clearly saw the impossibility of changing the government of Florence by violent means, and that no object was to be gained by holding power, even repeatedly, in a Republic which changed its chief magistrates every two months. There was but one method of obtaining real and assured predominance, namely, by marshalling under his orders a party of sufficient strength and prudence to guarantee the highest offices of the Republic to its own adherents in perpetuity. And the Albizzi had soon occasion to perceive that this design was prospering, for their adversaries—notwithstanding perpetual admonish-

* Machiavelli, *Storie*, Vol. I., lib. iii. p. 193.

ments and sentences of exile—were always elected in increasing numbers. In vain the former attempted to countermine Giovanni dei Medici's work by inopportune proposals of laws intended to weaken the Lesser Guilds, for they could not get them passed in Council without their adversary's help, and this he openly refused them, thus continually increasing his power with the people (1426). It was Giovanni dei Medici who proposed and supported the law of *Catasto*, by which it was ordained that the amount of every citizen's possessions should be verified and registered, a law which prevented the powerful from levying taxes *ad libitum* to the oppression of the weak. The law was carried, the authority of the Medici was thereby much increased, and, while really making a rapid flight towards power, they seemed to be wholly intent on giving a more democratic form to the Republic. This, both then and afterwards, was their favourite stratagem.

When Cosimo dei Medici succeeded his father in 1429, he was forty years of age, and being already a man of great authority and fortune on his own account, found his way clear before him. He had largely increased his paternal inheritance by commerce, and he used his means so generously, lending and giving on all sides, that there was hardly any man of weight in Florence, who had not sought and received help from him in moments of need. Thus, without ever laying aside, at all events in appearance, the modesty of the private citizen, every day saw the increase of his influence, which was employed by him

to destroy the last remains of the power of the Albizzi and their friends. These, goaded to desperation, rose in rebellion, and drove him into exile, not daring to do worse (1433). But Cosimo still preserved his prudent calm. He went to Venice in the attitude of a benefactor repaid by ingratitude, and was everywhere received like a prince. The following year a popular revolt, fomented by a countless number of those whom he had benefited—or who hoped for benefits on the fall of the Albizzi—recalled him to Florence. If powerful at his departure, he was much more powerful on his return, and was, moreover, animated by a spirit of revenge. He now threw aside his former reserve in order to profit by the favourable moment. Without shedding too much blood, he thoroughly broke up the adverse party by means of persecution and exile, abasing the great and exalting men "of low and vile condition."* To those who accused him of excess, and of ruining too many citizens, he was accustomed to answer: that States could not be governed by paternosters, and that with a few ells of crimson cloth, new and worthy citizens could easily be manufactured. †

Cosimo dei Medici was now *de facto* master of Florence, but he was still, *de jure*, a private citizen, whose power, based solely and wholly on his personal influence, might give way at any moment. Therefore, he set to work to consolidate it,

* Guicciardini, *Storia di Firenze*, *p.* 6.

† He meant by this that given the cloth necessary for robes of office, all men could be citizens.

by a measure as novel as it was sagacious. He brought about the creation of a *Balìa* empowered to elect chief magistrates for a term of five years. Composed of citizens devoted to himself, this Balìa secured his position for a long time; and by having it renewed every five years in the same way, he was able to solve the strange problem of being for all the rest of his life, Prince and absolute master of a Republic, without ever holding any public office, or ever quitting the semblance of a private citizen. This did not, however, prevent him from occasionally having recourse to bloodshed. When he beheld in the city the daily increasing power of Neri di Gino Capponi, that sagacious politician and valiant soldier, who had the support of Baldaccio d'Anghiari, Captain of the infantry forces, Cosimo, who did not dare to attack him openly, determined to do so through his friends. Accordingly, no sooner was a personal enemy of Baldaccio elected Gonfaloniere, than, during a sudden tumult, Baldaccio was thrown from a window of the palace of the Signoria; and all men suspected, though none could prove, that Cosimo was the chief instigator of the crime.* But after this he continued to govern with what were then called *modi civili*, or gentle means, and which were always the device of the Medici. This sagacious merchant of but little culture, who never left his office desk, this unscrupulous politician, sur-

* Machiavelli, who in his *Storie Fiorentine* frequently tries to exculpate the Medici, consjders the Gonfalonier Bartolommeo Orlandini sole author of the crime. Guicciardini, on the contrary, who in his *Storie di Firenze*, judges the Medici much more impartially, attributes everything to Cosimo.

rounded himself with artists and men of letters. Frugal to meanness in his personal expenditure, he lavished treasures in encouraging the fine arts, in constructing churches, libraries, and other public edifices ; he passed the most delightful hours of his life in listening to and commenting on Plato's *Dialogues;* he founded the Platonic Academy. Thus it is in great measure owing to him, that Florence now became the principal centre of European culture. He had divined that in modern society, arts, letters, and science were becoming a power which every government ought to take into account.

Nor was his foreign policy less sagacious. Having protected Nicholas and helped him with money when he was a Cardinal, he found him most friendly as Pope ; and thus the business affairs of the Curia were entrusted to the Medicis' bank in Rome, no little to their profit. Sooner than other men, Cosimo had foreseen the future destiny of Francesco Sforza, and had gained his friendship : so that the latter on becoming Lord of Milan, proved a powerful and faithful ally. Then the continual wars with Milan came to an end, and Florence owed to Cosimo a long enduring peace. So it is not surprising if, after his death, the rule of the Medici still going on, he should be styled *Pater patriae.* Machiavelli declares that he was the most renowned citizen "for a civilian" "d'uomo disarmato" that Florence, or any other city, ever possessed. In his opinion, no man ever equalled Cosimo in political insight, for he discerned evils from afar, and provided against them in time ; thus he was able to hold the State for

thirty-one years, "through so great variety of fortune, in so restless a city, with citizens of so changeable a temper" ("in tanta varietà di fortuna, in sì varia città, e volubile cittadinanza").* Nor was the equally authoritative opinion of Guicciardini different from this. Yet under his course of policy all the old Florentine institutions were reduced to empty names, without one new one springing up; and continual vigilance, an inexhaustible series of ever fresh contrivances, were required to carry on the machinery of the State.

The last years of Cosimo's life passed very dismally for Florence, since the adherents of the Medici, no longer restrained by the prudence of their chief, who was now overcome by the infirmities of age, began to show their partisanship; and to persecute and exile their enemies instinctively. Nor were things changed during the short rule of Cosimo's son Piero. But at his death (1469), Lorenzo and Giuliano appeared upon the scene; and the first of these, though only twenty-one years old, was already known as a man of great influence. Educated by the first men of letters of the age, he had proved himself the equal of many of them in wit and learning; in travelling through Italy to visit the different courts and gain experience of mankind, he had left everywhere a great opinion of his talents. He resolutely seized the reins of government, and foreseeing that the election of the new Balìa would not be certain in the Council of the Hundred, he managed,

* Machiavelli, *Storie*, Vol. II. p. 148-52.

with the help of his most trustworthy friends, and as if by surprise, to have it carried that the Signori in office and the old Balìa should elect the new. Having in this manner secured a five years' term of power, he went to work much more quietly.

Lorenzo inherited his grandfather's political sagacity and far surpassed him in talent and literary culture. In many respects too he was a very different man. Cosimo never left his business office; Lorenzo neglected it, and had so little commercial aptitude that he was obliged to retire from business, in order not to lose his abundant patrimony. Cosimo was frugal in his personal expenses and lent freely to others; Lorenzo loved splendid living, and thus gained the title of the Magnificent; he spent immoderately for the advancement of literary men; he gave himself up to dissipation which ruined his health and shortened his days. His manner of living reduced him to such straits, that he had to sell some of his possessions and obtain money from his friends. Nor did this suffice; for he even meddled with the public money, a thing that had never happened in Cosimo's time. Very often, in his greed of unlawful gain, he had the Florentine armies paid by his own bank; he also appropriated the sums collected in the *Monte Comune* or treasury of the public debt, and those in the *Monte delle Fanciulle*, where were marriage portions accumulated by private savings—money hitherto held sacred by all.

Stimulated by the same greed, he, in the year 1472

joined the Florentine contractors for the wealthy alum mines of Volterra, at the moment in which that city was on the verge of rebellion in order to free itself from a contract which it deemed unjust. And Lorenzo, with the weight of his authority, pushed matters to such a point that war broke out, soon to be followed by a most cruel sack of the unhappy city, a very unusual event in Tuscany.* For all this he was universally blamed. But he was excessively haughty and cared for no man; he would tolerate no equals, would be first in everything—even in games. He interfered in all matters, even in private concerns and in marriages: nothing could take place without his consent. In overthrowing the powerful and exalting men of low condition, he showed none of the care and precaution so uniformly observed by Cosimo.

It is not then surprising if his enemies increased so fast that the formidable conspiracy of the Pazzi broke out on the 26th April 1478. In this plot, hatched in the Vatican itself where Sixtus IV. was Lorenzo's determined enemy, many of the mightiest Florentine families took part. In the cathedral, at the moment of the elevation of the Host, the conspirators' daggers were unsheathed. Giuliano dei Medici was stabbed to death, but Lorenzo defended himself with his sword and saved his own life. The tumult was so great that it seemed as though the walls of the church were shaken. The

* *Vide*, among other Florentine historians of the time, the *Cronache Volterrane*, published by Tabarrini in the *Archivio Storico*, Vol. III. p. 317 and fol.

populace rose to the cry of *Palle! Palle!* the Medici watchword, and the enemies of the Medici were slaughtered in the streets or hung from the windows of the Palazzo Vecchio. There, among others, were seen the dangling corpses of Archbishop Salviati and of Francesco Pazzi, who in their last struggles had gripped each other with their teeth and remained thus for some time. More than seventy persons perished on that day, and Lorenzo, taking advantage of the opportunity, pushed matters to extremity by his confiscations, banishments, and sentences of death. Thereby his power would have been infinitely increased if Pope Sixtus IV., blinded by rage, had not been induced to excommunicate Florence, and make war against it, in conjunction with Ferdinand of Aragon. On this Lorenzo, without losing a moment, went straight to Naples, and made the king understand how much better it served his interests that Florence should have but one ruler instead of a republican government, always liable to change and certainly never friendly to Naples. So he returned with peace re-established and boundless authority and popularity. Now indeed he might have called himself lord of the city, and it must have seemed easy to him to destroy the republican government altogether. With his pride and ambition it is certain that he had an intense desire to stand on the same level with the other princes and tyrants of Italy, the more so as at that moment success seemed entirely within his grasp. But Lorenzo showed that his political shrewdness was not to be blinded by prosperity, and knowing

Florence well, he remained firm to the traditional policy of his house, that of dominating the Republic, while apparently respecting it.

He was well determined to render his power solid and durable; but to that end he had recourse to a most ingenious reform, by means of which, without abandoning the old road, he thoroughly succeeded in his object.

In place of the usual five-yearly Balìa, he instituted, in 1480, the Council of Seventy, which renewed itself and was like a permanent Balìa with still wider power. This, composed of men entirely devoted to his cause, secured the government to him for ever. By this Council, say the chroniclers of the time, liberty was wholly buried and undone,* but certainly the most important affairs of the State were carried on in it by intelligent and cultivated men, who largely promoted its material prosperity. Florence still called itself a republic, nominally the old institutions were still in existence, but all this seemed and was nothing but an empty mockery. Lorenzo, absolute lord of all, might certainly be called a tyrant, surrounded by lackeys and courtiers—whom he often rewarded by entrusting them with the management of charitable funds;—leading a life of scandalous immorality, keeping up continual and general *espionnage;* interfering in the most private affairs; forbidding marriages between persons of condition that were not to his taste, and bestowing the most important offices on the lowest men, who thus,

* *Diarii di Alamanno Rinuccini,* published by Ajazzi, Florence, 1840, page cx-xii. In the *Archivio Storico,* Vol. I. page 315 and fol., are the two *Provisions* that instituted the Council of Seventy, published and annotated by the Marchese Gino Capponi.

as Guicciardini puts it, "had become rulers of the roast."* Yet he dazzled all men by the splendour of his rule, so that the same writer observes, that though Lorenzo was a tyrant, "it would be impossible to imagine a better and more pleasing tyrant."

Industry, commerce, public works had all received a mighty impulse. In no city in the world had the civil equality of modern States reached the degree to which it had attained not merely in Florence itself, but in its whole territory and throughout all Tuscany. Administration and secular justice proceeded regularly enough in ordinary cases, crime was diminished, and above all, literary culture had become a substantial element of the new State. Learned men were employed in public offices, and from Florence spread a light that illuminated the world. Lorenzo, with his varied and well-cultivated talents, his keen penetration and unerring judgment in all departments of knowledge, was no ordinary patron and Mecœnas; he stood among the first *literâti* of his age, and took an active part in the labours he promoted, not only in the interests of his government, but also from real and undoubted intellectual taste. Nevertheless, in order to turn letters to political uses, he endeavoured by his festivals and his carnivalesque songs to enervate and corrupt the people, and succeeded but too well. Thus, without an army, without the lawful command of the State, he was master of Florence and of Tuscany, and moreover exercised immense influence over all the Italian potentates. His enemy, Sixtus IV., was

* *Storia Fiorentina*, chap. ix. page 91.

dead. Pope Innocent VIII. was not only his friend but married a relation into his family, bestowed a Cardinal's hat on his infant son Giovanni, and always turned to him for advice. The inextinguishable hatred that burned between Lodovic the Moor and Ferdinand of Aragon, a hatred which threatened to set all Italy ablaze, was held in bounds by Lorenzo—for that reason rightly called the balancing needle of Italy—and it was not till after his death that it led to fatal consequences. His political letters, frequently examples of political wisdom as well as elegance, were pronounced by the historian Guicciardini to be among the most eloquent of the age.

But Lorenzo's policy could found nothing that was permanent. Unrivalled as a model of sagacity and prudence, it promoted in Florence the development of all the new elements of which modern society was to be the outcome, without succeeding in fusing them together; for his was a policy of equivocation and deceit, directed by a man of much genius, who had no higher aim than his own interest and that of his family, to which he never hesitated to sacrifice the interests of his people.

3. *Venice.*

The history of Venice stands in apparently direct contradiction with that of Florence. The latter, in fact, shows us a series of revolutions which, starting from an aristocratic government, reached the extreme point of democratic equality, only to fall later under the despotism of a single head; while Venice, on the contrary

proceeded with order and firmness to the formation of an increasingly powerful aristocracy. Florence vainly sought to preserve liberty by too frequent changes of magistrates; Venice elected the Doge for life, rendered a seat in the Grand Council an hereditary honour, firmly established the Republic, became a great power, and retained her liberty for many centuries. This enormous divergence, however, is not only easily explained, but is much reduced in our eyes when we examine the special conditions amid which the Venetian Republic grew into shape. Founded by Italian refugees, who settled in the lagoons to escape the tide of barbarian invasion, it was exposed but little, if at all, to the influence of Feudalism and the other Germanic laws and institutions which so largely penetrated into many other parts of Italy. Thus in Venice from the very beginning there were seen opposed to each other the people engaged in industry and commerce and the old Italian families, who without the support of the empire, or the strength of the feudal order, were very easily overruled and conquered.

An aristocracy of wealth was quickly formed, and these new nobles had no difficulty in taking possession of the government and holding it for ever. This triumph which, in Florence, was the slow result of many and frequent struggles, was in Venice as permanent as it was rapid. From the first, the prosperity of the lagoons was entirely dependent upon the distant expeditions and far-spreading commerce which everywhere formed the strength of the burghers or *popolo grasso*. Then, while on the one hand the energies of

the people or *popolo minuto* were employed for many months of the year in lengthy voyages, on the other the government of the colonies gave opportunities of command to the more ambitious citizens, without any danger to the Republic.

Thus the Venetian Constitution, in its first origin but little different from those of other Italian Communes, went on from change to change owing to the widely different conditions by which it was surrounded. From the beginning the Doge was elected for life, because the city being divided in many islands, all tending to render themselves independent of one another, the need of greater centralisation was soon made manifest. But the Doge was surrounded by nine citizens who composed the *Signoria*, and there were, as in other cities, two Councils, the Senate or *Pregati*, and the Grand Council. On solemn occasions, an appeal was made to the people collected in a public assembly called Arrengo, answering to the Parliament of Florence. Had things stood still at this point, the Venetian Constitution, with the exception of the Doge for life, would not have been radically different from that of Florence. But the far greater strength quickly acquired by the aristocracy of wealth, for the reasons above-mentioned, gradually concentrated nearly all the power of the State in the Grand Council, which, on the abolition of the Arrengo and the narrowing of the Doge's authority, was the true sovereign power, and became hereditary through a series of slow reforms between the years 1297 and 1319, leading to what was called the *Serrata* of the

Grand Council. Thus the circle was closed, and government was in the hands of a powerful aristocracy who later on instituted their Golden Book.

But although here, in Venice, there was no feudal principle to be fought against, these reforms were not carried without much opposition on the part of the old families, who, seeing themselves excluded from the government, sought and found adherents among the lowest classes. The conspiracy of Tiepolo Baiamonte (1310) was formidable enough for a few days to place the very existence of the republic in extremity of peril. But after a fierce conflict within and without the city, it was suffocated in bloodshed, and followed by the creation of the Council of Ten, a terrible tribunal which, by summary trials, but always in accordance with the laws, punished by death every attempt at revolt. Then, indeed, all danger was warded off from the aristocratic government, and it daily gained fresh strength. The solidity of Venetian institutions favoured the progress of Venetian commerce, and increased riches gave courage for new undertakings in the East, the field of Venetian glory and Venetian gain.

In the East the republic had encountered two powerful rivals, Pisa and Genoa; but the maritime power of the Pisans was shattered at the Meloria (1284) by the Genoese, who in their turn, after a long and sanguinary struggle, were irreparably defeated by the Venetians at Chioggia in 1380. And thus by the end of the fourteenth century Venice was free from all rivals, mistress of the seas, in the enjoyment of internal security, and most pros-

perous in commerce. Then she aspired to conquest on the mainland, and entered upon a second period of her history, during which she found herself involved in all the intrigues of Italian politics, lost her primitive character of an exclusively maritime power, and began to be corrupt. Hence the weighty accusations brought against her by contemporaries and posterity alike, but it was irresistible necessity that had forced her into the new path. In fact, when great States were springing up on all sides, the dominion of the lagoons was no longer secure, and it was no longer enough to watch over her own commerce on the mainland. The Scaligeri, the Visconti, the Carrara, the Este, detested the thriving Republic. They threatened it and isolated it in its own lagoons precisely when it most needed new markets for its superior wares; for its trade with the East which was only to be fed by that with the West. And when the Turks advanced and began to check the conquests of the Republic and threaten its colonies, this need became still more pressing, for other reasons.

It is true that Venice then found herself pressed by a thousand dangers on both sides; but these dangers were inevitable, and she met them, fighting by land and by sea, with heroic ardour, and at first with unexpected good fortune. Venice certainly was somewhat unscrupulous in promoting her new interests; often compelled in Italy to combat disloyal enemies, she too made use of violence and fraud. Yet it was never the personal caprice of an individual subjecting all things to his own will; it was a patriotic aristocracy

giving its blood for its country. In the fifteenth century the first to feel the claws of the lion of St. Mark were the Carrara, lords of Padua, who were strangled to death in 1403. After that, Venice sent to Padua a *Rector* for civil, and a Captain for military affairs, leaving intact all old laws and local institutions. The same took place, or had already taken place, in Friuli, Istria, Vicenza, Verona, Treviso. It was a very intelligent and liberal policy for those times; but with their independence, the new subjects lost for ever, every hope of liberty. The conquered territories certainly derived great advantages from being under a strong and just government and sharing in the immense trade of Venice; but although material well-being might make the multitude forget their love of liberty and independence, there remained in all the powerful families who had held or hoped to hold rule, an intense hatred for the new tyrant, who was envied for the stability and strength of her government, and considered the most formidable enemy of all the other Italian States.

She proceeded on her course of conquest, and the fifteenth century, in which Italy began rapidly to decline, seemed on the contrary to open to Venice an era of increased prosperity. Her nobles had made men forget the irregularity of their origin, by the enormous sacrifices they had made for their country, and by the valour they had shown in the naval battles in which they commanded. Absorbed in political life, they freely left to the people all commerce and industry,

which prospered miraculously under the shelter of a fixed government and victorious arms.

The very advance of the Turks, which later wrought such terrible harm on the republic, seemed at this period almost to turn to its advantage. In fact, many islands of the archipelago, and other States, finding themselves in great danger through the impotence of the Greek Empire to defend them from the terrible hurricane that was drawing near, invoked the protection of Venice and gave themselves into her hands. Thus her dominions were enlarged and acquired fresh subjects, ready to pour out their blood in combating the common enemy, who, in the earlier encounters, suffered very heavy losses. All these things helped to rouse the spirit of the Venetians, who at this time believed themselves destined to be the bulwark of Christendom and the dominant power in Italy. Throughout their political dealings, in the correspondence of their ambassadors, in their continual wars by sea and land, patriotic feeling over-ruled every other, and inspired a noble boldness of language in citizens who were ever ready to lay down their lives for their country. The honour, the glory of Venice, was always their dominant motive; and in their struggle against the advancing Turks they gave continued proofs of heroism. When the Venetian fleet encountered its formidable enemy near Gallipoli, in May 1416, Pietro Loredano, its commander, wrote to his government: "Boldly did I, the captain, crash against the foremost of the enemy's galleys, full of Turks, who fought like dragons. Surrounded on all

sides, wounded by an arrow which had passed through my jaw beneath the eye, by another through my hand, as also by many more, I did not cease from fighting, nor would I have ceased till death. I captured the first galley and planted my flag upon it. The Turks who were on board were cut to pieces, the rest of the fleet routed." * Venice alone, in the Italy of the fifteenth century, was capable of enterprises so daring and language so frank. The little republic of the lagoons had become one of the greatest potentates of Europe. But the dangers closing in around her were immense and waxing greater on all sides.

The Doge Tommaso Mocenigo foresaw these dangers, and on his death-bed, in April 1423, prayed and entreated his friends not to be tempted to undertake wars and conquests, and above all not to elect as his successor Francesco Foscari, whose immoderate ambition would certainly drag them into the most audacious and perilous enterprises. But these prudent counsels were uttered in vain. Filippo Maria Visconti was then threatening all Northern and Central Italy; the Turks were on the advance. Francesco Foscari was duly elected, and he certainly was not the man to bring back into harbour a vessel already launched on the open sea. No sooner did the Florentines implore help against the Visconti, than he exclaimed in the Senate :—" Were I at the end of the world and saw

* Romanin (*Storia documentata di Venezia*, Vol. IV. lib. x. chap. 3.) quotes from Sanuto all this account, of which we have given a brief summary.

a people in danger of losing its liberty, I would hasten to its assistance." "Nu patiremo che Filippo tuoga la libertà ai Fiorentini? Sto furibondo tiran scorrerà per tutta Italia, la struggerà e conquasserà senza gastigo?"* Thus, in 1426, began the formidable struggle which, frequently interrupted and renewed, only ended with the death of Visconti in the year 1447.

In these twenty-one years Foscari showed a truly Roman patriotism and energy, struggling against external and internal dangers of every kind. Each year the Visconti's treasures enabled him to bring fresh armies into the field, and the Venetian Republic was always ready to meet them. Carmagnola, who had come over to the Venetians, gave cause for suspicion immediately after his first victories, and was, without hesitation, brought to a regular trial and condemned to death. On the 5th May 1432, *cum una sprangha in bucha, et cum manibus ligatis de retro juxta solitum*,† he was led between the columns of the Piazzètta and there beheaded. In 1430 there was an attempt against the Doge's life, and in 1433 a conspiracy against his government: the Ten brought swift and exemplary justice to bear upon the guilty parties. Later, at the instigation of the Visconti, the last of the Carraras tried to reconquer his lost dominions, and persuaded Ostasio da Polenta, lord of Ravenna, to throw off his allegiance to Venice. Carrara lost his head between the columns

* Romanin: *Storia documentata di Venezia*, Vol. IV. p. 108.

† The words of the sentence as given by Romanin.

of the Piazzetta (1435), Polenta died in exile at Crete, and Ravenna was added to the Venetian territory. After Visconti's death, and shortly after the cessation of hostilities with Milan, there occurred the fall of Constantinople (1453), in which so many Italians, especially Venetians, lost their lives. This event, marking a new epoch in the history of Europe, was a mortal blow to Venice. Yet, in 1454, she succeeded in making a treaty, which ensured free trade to her subjects, and gave her time to prepare for new conflicts.

But the chief danger to the Republic sprang from the fresh germs of corruption, now beginning to threaten it with internal discord. Foscari's enemies, not content with having plotted against his life and his government, now assailed him by bitter persecution of his last surviving son, Jacopo, a man of very frivolous character, but blindly beloved by his father. Exiled, in 1445, for having accepted gifts, which the laws strictly forbade to the Doge's son, he was after having obtained pardon, again condemned to exile in Canea in 1451, for supposed connivance in the assassination of one of his former judges. Recalled from his place of exile in 1456, he was subjected to a fresh trial, for having maintained a secret correspondence with the Duke of Milan, and was condemned to a longer term of banishment. Entering the prison, the old Doge, unmoved by the sight of his son imploring pardon at his feet, exclaimed :—"Go, obey the will of thy country, and seek for nought else." But hardly had he tottered from the prison, leaning on his staff, than he fell into a

swoon.* Shortly afterwards Jacopo Foscari died in exile (12th January 1457), and the paternal heart of the man, who had sustained with an iron resolution, a gigantic struggle in defence of the Republic, broke down under the persecutions heaped upon his son. Aged, worn out, beaten down, he had no longer the strength required to conduct State affairs, and to defend himself from his enemies. On being invited to resign, and refusing to do so, he was formally deposed. His ring having been broken off, the ducal cap removed from his head, he calmly descended the same stairs by which he had mounted on his accession to the Dogeship, quietly conversing with those who were near, and without accepting any offered arm. His successor was elected on the 30th October, and he died of a broken heart on the 1st November, after a thirty-four years' reign. Francesco Foscari was certainly one of the greatest political characters of his time.† With him, Venice attained the height of her power; after him she soon began to decay, though remaining heroic even in decay.

Forsaken by all the rest of Italy, she was left alone to confront the Turks, who were advancing with formidable forces. The *sopra-comito* (or admiral) Girolamo Longo wrote in 1468 that the Turkish fleet which he had to encounter was of four hundred sail, and six miles

* *Diarii* di Marin Sanuto, and the *Cronaca* of Delfin. See the fragments cited by Romanin, Vol. IV. p. 286, and fol.

† The following inscription was placed upon his tomb :—*Post mare perdomitum, post urbes marte subactas, Florentem patriam, longaevus pace reliqui.*

in length. "The sea seemed a forest; this may seem an incredible thing to hear, but it is a marvellous thing to behold; . . . now see if by stratagem it be possible to gain an advantage. Men and not words are what is required."* These seem almost like accents of fear beside those words of Loredano, which we have already quoted. Times, in fact, were changed: the Republic continued to send forth fresh fleets, which fought heroically; it organised the resistance of all Christian populations, who freely gave their blood for the cause; it sent arms and money to the Persians, so that they too might aid to check the threatening advance of Mahomet II.; but all was in vain. Negroponte, Caffa, Scutari, other cities and possessions, fell one after another, in spite of their valiant defence. And at last Venice, weary of always standing alone to combat the enemy of Christianity, in January 1479 made a peace, which guaranteed her own commerce, and which, seeing the sad state to which she was reduced, might be considered honourable. Then the rest of Italy joined in violent abuse of Venice, the more so when their alarm reached its climax in 1480 by the taking of Otranto by the Turks. But shortly after, the death of Mahomet II., and the consequent disorders at home, recalled the Turkish invaders from our shores, and Italy thought no more upon the subject.

From this time forward the horizon of the Republic grows narrower and narrower. Solely occupied by

* This letter is in the *Annali* of Malipiero, and is also quoted by Romanin, Vol. IV. pp. 335, 336.

material interests, involved in the intrigues of Italian policy, it no longer assumes the guardianship of the Peninsula, and of all Christendom, against the Moslem, and every fresh event of the world's history seems to be to the injury of Venice. The discovery of America, and of the Cape of Good Hope, removed her from the principal highways of commerce. Reduced on all sides, she lost, together with her great gains, the historical importance which had been hers as the connecting link between the East and the West. Now she was reduced to snatching this or that scrap of territory from her neighbours, and imposing on them her still great and powerful trade. Her dominions now extended on one side to the Adda, on the other she held Ravenna, Cervia, Rimini, Faenza, Cesena, and Imola in the Romagna: in the Trentino she held Roveredo and its dependencies; she had carried her arms as far as the Adriatic coast of the Neapolitan kingdom, and held some lands there. But this very fact of her having taken something from all, had gained her the fear and hatred of all.

Then again, this vast State was all under the rule of one city, in which but a small proportion of the citizens had a hereditary right to command. Not even in Venice, therefore, was it possible to hope for the wide and organic development of a modern State; she remained rather as a survival of old republican institutions, outliving itself, and condemned to perish for want of nourishment. Meanwhile, it was still the strongest, most moral government in Italy; but as its circle of activity

diminished, so too diminished the magnanimous virtues, the heroic characters, born of the great perils they had had to struggle against, and of the continual sacrifices to which they were summoned. Instead of these, there ensued in the ruling class an enormous growth of egotism, luxury, and greed for gold. The jewel-loaded, satin-clad wives of the Venetian patricians, inhabited during the fifteenth century abodes of greater richness than any that were to be found in the palaces of Italian potentates. "The men," says the Milanese writer Pietro da Casola, "were more modest and austere; they dressed like so many doctors of the law, and those who dealt with them had to keep both eyes and ears wide open."* But their policy, if less egotistical than that prevalent in the rest of Italy, was still that of a narrow local and class interest. They looked almost with pleasure on the ruin of Italy, hoping thus to ensure their own power over it. And when foreign armies approached the Alps, they allowed them free passage, in the belief that they could later drive them back, and command in their place. The contrary ensued; this selfishness of theirs which helped no man and threatened all, led to the League of Cambray, in which nearly the whole of Europe arrayed itself against the little Republic, which, in spite of its gallant resistance, could not, as it had hoped, secure its own safety in the midst of the general ruin of the whole country.

* See the "Viaggio" of Brother Pietro da Casola, a Milanese, published by G. Porro, Milan, Ripamonti, 1855. Romanin, Vol. IV. pp. 494, 495, quotes some fragments.

4. *Rome.*

Amid the infinite variety of characters and institutions presented to us by Italy in the fifteenth century, the history of Rome forms almost a world apart. Chief centre of the interests of all Christian lands, the eternal city was more sensitive than any other to the great transformations going on in Europe. The formation of great and independent States had broken up and rendered for ever impossible the universal unity of which the Middle Ages had had some prevision, and had even partially fulfilled. The Empire was becoming more and more restricted within the German frontiers, and the aim of the Emperor was to strengthen his position by settled and direct dominion within his own proper States. Therefore the Papacy, henceforward condemned to renounce its pretensions to universal sovereignty in the world, felt the urgent necessity of constituting a secure and genuine temporal kingdom. But the transfer of the Holy Seat to Avignon, and the long-enduring schism had thrown the States of the Church into disorder and anarchy. Rome was a free Commune, with a similar constitution to that of the other Italian Republics, but industry and commerce had not flourished there, nor had its political organism ever attained a vigorous development, chiefly in consequence of the exceptional supremacy exercised by the Pope, and the excessive power of the nobles who threw everything into confusion. The Orsini, the Colonna, the Prefetti di Vico, were sovereign rulers in their

immense domains, in which they had stores of arms and armed men; they nominated judges and notaries, and sometimes even coined money. Besides, there were also cities who were, or were continually trying to render themselves independent within the Roman territory, which extended from the Garigliano to the confines of Tuscany.

Every one, too, can imagine to what condition the Papal sway was reduced in cities like Bologna, Urbino, Faenza, and Ancona, all independent Republics or Lordships. Therefore, in order to form a temporal kingdom, a war of conquest was necessary. This Innocent VI. (1352-62) had attempted to begin, by means of Cardinal d'Albornoz, who, by fire and sword, brought a great portion of the State into submission. But this boasted submission was in fact reduced to the construction, in all principal cities, of fortresses held in the Pope's name; to transforming the tyrants into vicars of the Church, and compelling the Republics to take an oath of obedience, while their statutes were left intact. In this way the Este, the Montefeltro, the Malatesta, the Alidosi, the Manfredi, the Ordelaffi, were legitimate lords of Ferrara, Urbino, Imola, Rimini, Faenza, Forli; while Bologna, Fermo, Ascoli, and other cities remained Republics. The political constitution of Rome then began to be changed into an administrative constitution by the destruction of ancient liberties, and Popes Urban V. and Gregory XI. continued in the same path, but the prolonged schism in the Church again plunged everything into anarchy,

and prevented the formation of any strong government or of any stable authority.

At last, in the year 1417, the Council of Constance put an end to the schism, by deposing three Popes and electing Oddo Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. Thus the history of the Papacy enters on a new period which lasts until the beginning of the following century, and during this time the successors of St Peter seem to put aside all thought of religion, and devote themselves exclusively to the construction of a temporal kingdom. Having become exactly similar to other Italian tyrants, they profited by the same arts of government. Still the great diversity of their station in the world, and the peculiar temper of the State they tried to rule, endued their proceedings with a special character. Generally elected at a very advanced age, the Popes suddenly found themselves in the midst of a riotous and powerful nobility, at the head of a disordered and loosened State, in a turbulent city where frequently they were without adherents and not seldom complete strangers. Therefore to gain strength, they favoured and enriched nephews who were often their own sons; and thus originated the great Church scandal, known as Nepotism, and which specially appertains to this century. Then having once been drawn into the tumultuous vortex of Italian politics, the Popes found themselves compelled to promote simultaneously two different interests, not unfrequently at variance the one with the other, *i.e.*, the political and the religious interest. Religion be-

came an instrument for the advancement of their political ends, and thus, though only rulers of a small State, they were able to turn all Italy upside down, and without succeeding in bringing it into subjection, to keep it weak and divided until it fell a prey to the foreigners, whom they continually called to their aid. On the other hand, brute force and political authority were used to keep alive the religious prestige which had no longer any root in men's minds. Such a state of things confused all conscientious feeling in these representatives of God upon earth, and made them gradually fall into so horrible a delirium of obscenity and crime, that all decency was forsaken, and the Vatican became the scene of every imaginable orgy and outrage, of plots and poisonings. It seemed as though the Papacy desired to extirpate all religious feeling from the mind of man, and overthrow for ever every basis of morality.

The first germs of this fatal corruption of the Papacy originated in the conditions in which it then was, and quickly bore fruit under Martin V., who was, however, the best Pope of that century. He arrived from Constance,—according to the expression of a modern writer,—like a lord without lands, so that in Florence the street-boys followed him with jeering songs. Entering Rome on the 28th September 1420, with the aid of Queen Giovanna of Naples, the Roman people, having by this time lost all their free institutions, presented themselves to him like a throng of beggars. War, pestilence, and famine had ravaged the eternal

city for many years; monuments, churches, and houses were alike in ruin; the streets full of heaps of stones and boggy holes; thieves robbing and pillaging by day as well as night. All agriculture had disappeared from the Campagna, and an immense extent of land had become a desert; the cities of the Roman territory were at war with each other, and the nobles, shut up in their strongholds which were like robbers' dens, despised all authority, would submit to no control, no law, and led the lives of brigands. Martin V. set to work with firmness, and first of all completed the destruction of Roman freedom, by changing the city into an administrative municipality. Then many rebel domains were subjected, many leaders of armed bands taken and hung; order thus began to be re-established, and a form of regular government inaugurated. But this end was attained by the means we have alluded to above. The Pope, to gain adherents, threw himself entirely into the arms of his relatives, the Colonnas, arranged wealthy marriages for them, conceded to them vast feuds in the States of the Church, or obtained the concession of others equally large in the kingdom of Naples. In this way he increased their already enormous power, and was the initiator of Nepotism. In order to keep up the asserted supremacy of the Popes in the kingdom of Naples, and get all possible advantages from it for his own friends, he gave his support, first to Giovanna II., who had assisted him to enter Rome; then to Louis of Anjou, her adversary; lastly, to Alfonso of Aragon, who triumphed over all. And

this fatal system of policy, continued by his successors, was the principal cause of the almost utter destruction of the Neapolitan kingdom and of the ruin of Italy. Yet in Rome there was seen at last some show of order and of regular government. Streets, houses, and monuments were partially restored; for the first time for many years it was possible to walk through the city and out for some miles into the Campagna, without fear of robbery and assassination. Therefore after the Pope's death (20th Feby. 1431), his tomb bore these words: *Temporum suorum felicitas;* and the inscription cannot be said to be altogether unmerited, especially when we consider how speedily all his sins were thrown into the shade, by the far greater crimes of his successors.

Eugene IV., who leant upon the Orsini, thereby making deadly enemies of the Colonna, was quickly driven out of Rome by a revolution, and pursued with volleys of stones as he fled down the Tiber, cowering in a boat (June 1434). Arrived in Florence, he had to re-establish his government over again and sent to Rome the patriarch, afterwards Cardinal Vitelleschi, who, at the head of armed bands, carried on with fire and sword, a real war of extermination. The family of the Prefetti di Vico was extinguished by the execution of its last representative Giovanni; that of the Colonna was partly destroyed by the hardy prelate; the Savelli underwent the same fate. Many castles were razed to the ground, many cities destroyed, and their inhabitants scattered hunger-stricken over the Campagna, where they wandered about in misery, sometimes even offering

to sell themselves for slaves. When at last Vitelleschi, at the head of a small army, made a triumphal entry into the eternal city, that trembled at his feet, the Pope, seized with suspicion, sent Scarampo, another prelate of the same stamp, to supersede him. Vitelleschi, who attempted resistance, was surrounded, wounded, taken prisoner, and confined in the castle of St Angelo, where he died. Then Eugene IV. was able to return quietly and safely to Rome, and died three years afterwards in 1447.

There was some singularity in the destiny of this Pope, who finally subjected the eternal city. While Vitelleschi and Scarampo were shedding rivers of blood, he remained in Florence enjoying festivals and the society of learned scholars. Without having much culture or love of letters, he found it necessary, when attending the Council of Florence, to employ interpreters to discuss and treat with the representatives of the Greek church, and was therefore obliged to admit into the Curia learned men who quickly overran it, not without certain noteworthy changes in the history of the Papacy. A solemn funeral oration in classic Latin was recited beside his bier by the celebrated scholar Tommaso Parentucelli, who was chosen as his successor, without being possessed of any merits beyond his erudition. He took the name of Nicholas V., and it was a general saying that, in his person, learning itself had ascended the chair of St Peter. Finding the Papal power sufficiently firm, Nicholas, who not only was devoid of original talent, but also—gravest defect in a scholar of the fifteenth century—was ignorant of Greek,

but who was the greatest existing collector and arranger of ancient codices, carried this passion with him to the Apostolic Chair, and made it the sole object of his pontificate.

His dream was to convert Rome into a vast centre of learning, into a great monumental city, with the finest library in the world. Had it been possible, he would have transported all Florence to the banks of the Tiber. He scattered agents all over Europe to collect and copy ancient codices; scholars of all kinds were offered large salaries as translators, without any regard to their religious or political opinions. Valla, who had written most noisily against the temporal power, was one of the first to be summoned. Stefano Porcaro, who, like Cola di Rienzo, had become, through his classical studies, infatuated for the Republic, was also overwhelmed with honours. However after he had entered into a conspiracy for firing the Vatican, and restoring republican institutions, the Pope lost patience with him, and let him be condemned to death. But nothing could cool the ardour of Nicholas for learning; he thought that all things might be remedied by a few Latin speeches, even the fall of Constantinople; and he never ceased to collect manuscripts and summon men of learning to Rome. The Curia became an office for translators and copyists, and the Vatican library was rapidly collected and enriched by many splendidly bound volumes. At the same time new roads were opened, fortresses were built, churches and monuments of all kinds were erected. There reigned a perfect fever of activity, for

the Pope, with the assistance of the first architects in the world, among whom was Leon Battista Alberti, had conceived a design, according to which Rome was to eclipse Florence. The leonine city was to be transformed into a great Papal fortress, in which St. Peter's and the Vatican were to be rebuilt from the very foundations. And although Nicholas V. did not succeed in carrying out his colossal enterprise, for which several generations would barely have sufficed, yet he initiated it with so much ardour, that during his reign the whole aspect of Rome was changed, and the immortal works executed in the times of Julius II. and Leo. X. were but the fulfilment of his own design.

On the 24th March 1455, Nicholas V. died the death of a true scholar, that is, after having pronounced a Latin oration to his Cardinals and friends, and was succeeded by Calixtus III., a Spaniard, and able jurist, who had first found his way to Italy as a political adventurer in the suite of Alphonso of Aragon. Calixtus was already seventy-seven years of age; he belonged to the corrupt Spanish clergy, not yet tamed and disciplined by the politic measures of Ferdinand and Isabella, and he bore the ill-omened name of Borgia; his brief Papacy was, like a meteor, the herald of coming evils. He had no concern with codices and scholars. With a blind cupidity, unrestrained by a vestige of decency or shame, he loaded with honours, land, and gold those nephews, of whom one was destined later to assume the triple crown under the notorious name of Alexander VI. He filled the city with Spanish adven-

turers, entrusting them with all duties of administration and police, thereby causing an enormous increase of crime. Blood was shed on all sides; anarchy again threatened to rule in Rome, when old Calixtus died (6th August 1458), whereupon a sudden burst of popular indignation put the Spaniards to flight, and the Pope's nephews themselves barely escaped with life.

Another scholarly Pope now ascended the throne, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, of Sienna, a man of varied and versatile talent and character. His early life was passed in pleasure, then amid the controversies at Basle, where he upheld that Council's authority in opposition to the Pope's; later, among the affairs of the imperial chancery in Germany, where he was the first propagator of Italian learning, he recanted his bold doctrines, renounced his juvenile errors, and thus was able to rise step by step in ecclesiastical rank until he reached the Papal Chair (19th August 1458), and assumed the name of Pius II. He still continued to study and compose works of merit, but he did not patronise learned men, as all had hoped, employing himself instead in bestowing offices and patronage on his relations and his Siennese friends. Rome had once more fallen a prey to anarchy, in consequence of the mad policy of Calixtus III., who, although a creature of the Aragonese, had favoured the Angevins; but Pius II., with greater shrewdness, favoured the Aragonese, and thus, assisted by them, was able to conquer the rebels. This Pope's ruling idea was that of a general crusade against the Turks; only as a man of his day, and a scholar, he was

more stirred by rhetorical enthusiasm than by religious zeal. In Mantua, whither he invited all Christian princes to a solemn congress (1459), many Latin discourses were pronounced; but in point of fact this great meeting was a mere literary display, with many high sounding promises never destined to be carried into effect. Notwithstanding all this, the Pope wrote a Latin letter to Sultan Mahomet II. expecting to convert him by that means. And when, on the contrary, fresh Greek exiles were perpetually arriving, flying before the Turks, who had invaded the Morea, and Tomaso Paleologo was the bearer of the head of St. Andrew, all Rome was, as it were, turned into a temple to receive the sacred relic, which was accompanied by thirty-five thousand torches. The Pope seized this occasion to deliver another solemn discourse in favour of a crusade, to a sceptical people, many of whom only felt an interest in the relic because it was brought by persons who spoke the language of Homer.

In 1462, Pius II. had collected a large sum of money through the unexpected discovery of rich alum mines at Tolfa, and again took up the idea of a crusade, inviting all Christian princes to straightway set out for the East. Old and suffering as he was, he caused himself to be carried in a litter to Ancona, where he expected to find armies and fleets, intending to go with them and bestow his blessing to their arms, like Moses when Israel fought against Amalech. But he found the port entirely empty; and when at last a few Venetian galleys arrived, the Pope drew his last breath, gazing towards the East,

and urging the pursuance of the crusade (15th August 1464). His life, which to some may perhaps seem a worthy subject of romance, or even of epic narration, was in reality devoid of all true greatness. Pius II. was a scholar of considerable talent, who wished to do some heroic deed, without possessing in himself the heroic element. Although, doubtless, the most noteworthy pontiff of this century, he had no deep convictions; he reflected the opinions and feeble desires of the men among whom he lived, changing perpetually, according to the times and conditions in which he was placed. His reign seemed to have a certain splendour, to hold out many hopes, but he left nothing durable behind him. After popes who had established the temporal power by force, and popes who had caused art and letters to flourish in Rome; after Pius II. who had not only re-established order, but had even seemingly inaugurated a religious awakening, it might have been hoped that a better era of peaceful security was at hand. But it was now, on the contrary, that all passions ran riot, and the worst crimes, the most horrible obscenities of the Papacy, were near at hand.

Paul II., consecrated on the 16th September 1464, approached this period without beginning it, and we may say that he was better than his reputation. Yet he, too, careless of learning, was given up to the pleasures of life, and without being devoid of political qualities, considered it a part of the art of government to corrupt the people by festivities on which he squandered treasures. His name has come down to

posterity with hatred, because he roughly drove all the scholars out of the Segreteria to make room for his own adherents. And when the learned world raised its voice still louder, and in the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto, speeches were made recalling those of Cola di Rienzo and Stefano Porcaro, he broke up the academy and imprisoned its members. It was then that Platina, confined and tortured in the Castle of St Angelo, swore to have revenge, and obtained it by depicting his persecutor as a monster of cruelty in his "Lives of the Popes," a very widely known work. But Paul II., without being in the least a good Pope, was not without certain merits. He re-ordered justice, severely punishing the bravos who filled Rome with their crimes, he had a new compilation of Roman law drawn up, he fought energetically against the Malatesta of Rimini, and put down the arrogance of the Anguillara family, who owned a great part of the Campagna, and of the territory of St Peter. Neither must his offences be too severely blamed when we remember the times and the men who came after him.

The three following Popes, Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI., are those who occupy the most degraded period in papal history, and prove to what a state Italy was then reduced. The first of these men was a Genoese friar, who immediately after his election (9th August 1471) exhibited himself as a violent despot, devoid of all scruples and all decency. He needed money, and therefore put up to sale offices, benefices, and indulgences. He showed a downright

mania for the advancement of his nephews, some of whom were, according to the general verdict, his own sons. One of these, Pietro Riario, was made Cardinal, with an income of sixty thousand crowns, and plunged so desperately into luxury, dissipation, and debauchery of all kinds, that he soon died, worn out by his vices, and overwhelmed with debts. The other brother, Girolamo, as zealously patronised, led the same sort of life. The Pope's whole policy was ruled by his greed of fresh acquisitions for his sons and nephews. It was solely because Lorenzo di Medici had crossed these designs that the conspiracy of the Pazzi was hatched in the Vatican, and that on its failure the Pope made war upon Florence, and launched a sentence of excommunication against that city. Later, he joined the Venetians in their expedition against Ferrara, always with the same object of snatching some province for his family, and a general war was the result, in which even the Neapolitans took part, by making an attack upon Rome, where fresh feuds among the nobility quickly broke out. Roberto Malatesta, of Rimini, was summoned to the defence of the eternal city, and when he died of a low fever, contracted during the war, the Pope tried to recompense his services by despoiling his heir of his State. This design, however, the Florentines managed to defeat.

The Pope, perceiving his danger, now changed his policy, and joined the Neapolitans against Ferrara and the Venetians, since these latter seemed disposed to conduct the war solely for their own advantage. He

then began to revenge himself upon the nobles, especially the Colonna. Girolamo Riario, the blood-thirsty, commanded the artillery,—which had been blessed by the Pope—gained possession of the Castle of Marino by promising to spare the life of his prisoner the Protonotary Lorenzo Colonna, and nevertheless caused his head to be cut off. During the funeral ceremony in the church of the Holy Apostles, the infuriated mother held her son's head up by the hair, and displaying it to the people, exclaimed, "Behold how the Pope keeps faith!" But these scenes of bloodshed in no wise disturbed the mind of Sixtus IV. When, however, he suddenly received intelligence that the Venetians whom he had abandoned, had, without consulting him or taking his concerns in account, concluded the peace of Bagnolo (7th August 1484), he was seized with a violent attack of fever, and died (12th August 1484), as men said, of the pains of peace.

"Nulla vis saevum potuit extinguere Sixtum
Audito tantum nomine pacis, obit."*

The palaces of the Riarios were being sacked, the Orsini and the Colonnas in arms, when the Cardinals hurriedly assembling in conclave, succeeded in patching up a truce. Then began a most scandalous traffic in votes for election to the Papal chair, which was sold to the highest bidder. The fortunate purchaser was Cardinal Cibo, who was proclaimed Pope on the 29th August 1484, under the name of Innocent VIII.

* Guicciardini: *Storia Fiorentina*, p. 70.

Hostile to the Aragonese, he soon joined the conspiracy of the Neapolitan barons, promising men, arms, money, and the arrival of a new Angevin pretender. The city of Aquila began the rebellion by raising the standard of the Church (October 1485); Florence and Milan declared for the Aragonese; Venice and Genoa, on the other hand, declared for the Pope and the barons, who had the aid of the Colonna, while the Orsini, taking up arms in the Campagna, marched straight to the walls of Rome. Confusion was at its height; the Pope despairing of succour, armed even the common felons; the Cardinals were at variance, the people terror-stricken, and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere alone paced the walls, and prepared for their defence. An attack was momentarily expected from the Duke of Calabria. But the Pope's invitation to Renè II. of Lorraine had the effect of bringing about a peace, compelling Ferrante to pay an annual tribute, and grant an amnesty to the barons, who, however, were put to death shortly afterwards.

During all this confusion, anarchy had again broken loose in Rome, nor was any way found to restrain it: no morning passed without corpses being found in the streets. Malefactors who could pay, obtained safe conducts; those who could not were hung at Tor di Nona. Every crime had its price, and all sums over one hundred and fifty ducats went to Franceschetto Cibo, the Pope's son; smaller sums to the Chamber. Parricide, violation, any sort of crime, could obtain absolution for money. The Vice-Chamberlain used to say laughing, "The Lord

desireth not the death of the sinner, but his life and his purse." The houses of the Cardinals were crammed with weapons, and gave shelter to numerous assassins and malefactors. Nor was the state of things in the country very different from this. At Forlì Girolamo Riario was assassinated (1484), men said, because the Pope wished to give that State to Franceschetto Cibo; at Faenza, Galeotto Manfredi was murdered by his own wife. Dagger and poison were everywhere at work, the most diabolical passions were unchained in Italy, and Rome was the headquarters of crime.

Meanwhile, Innocent VIII. passed his time in festivities. He was the first Pope who openly acknowledged his own children, and celebrated their wedding feasts. Franceschetto espoused Maddalena, daughter of Lorenzo dei Medici (1487), and by way of recompense, her brother Giovanni was made a Cardinal at the age of fourteen. In the midst of these and other sumptuous family rejoicings, a singular personage arrived who completed the strange spectacle offered by Rome in those days. This was Djem, or as he was called by the Italians, Gemme, who had been defeated and put to flight in struggling against his brother Bajazet for the succession to the throne of Mahomet II. At Rhodes the knights of that order had made him prisoner, extorting from Bajazet thirty-five thousand ducats a-year, on condition of preventing his escape. Later, Pope Innocent contrived to get this rich prey into his own hands, and obtained forty thousand ducats yearly from Bajazet, who offered to pay a much larger sum on receipt of

his brother's corpse, but this last arrangement did not suit the Pope's purpose. So on the 13th March 1489 Djem, seated motionless in his saddle, dressed in his native costume, and wrapped in his austere oriental melancholy, made his solemn entrance into Rome, and was lodged in the Vatican, where he passed his time in studying music and poetry.

The taking of Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors in Spain, the arrival of holy relics from the East, all gave occasion for festivals, processions, and bacchanalian orgies. There was a very imposing cermony on the arrival of the youthful Cardinal Giovanni di Medici, then only seventeen years of age, and to whom his father, among other useful advice, wrote that he must bear in mind that he was about to inhabit the sink of all iniquity. And this Rome certainly was. The Pope's sons and nephews made the town ring with the scandal of their daily life. Franceschetto Cibo lost fourteen thousand florins in a single night at play with Cardinal Riario, whom he accused to the Pope of cheating at cards; the money, however had already disappeared. The eternal city had become a great market of offices and posts, often only created in order to be sold. And not only offices, but false bulls, indulgences to sinners, impunity for assassins, could be had for money: a father, by payment of eight hundred ducats, obtained absolution for the murder of his two daughters. Every evening corpses found about the streets were thrown into the Tiber.

In the midst of these diabolical orgies, the Pope

every now and then fell into a lethargy that was mistaken for death, and then his relations and the cardinals hurried to secure their treasures and the precious hostage Djem, and all Rome was in a tumult. The Pope would awake from his trance, and thereupon the merry-makings went on as before, and assassination was the order of the day. At last a fresh attack of the Pope's malady left little room for hope. Anxious relations crowded round the bed of the dying man, who could take nothing but woman's milk; then, it was said, that transfusion of blood was tried and three children sacrificed to the experiment.

But all was in vain, and on the 25th July 1492—the same year in which Lorenzo di Medici had died—Innocent VIII. breathed his last at the age of sixty. At the death of Sixtus IV., Infessura had blessed the day which had freed the world from so great a monster, and the following Pope was much worse than his predecessor. Nobody now believed that a worse than Innocent could be found, yet the infamy of the new Pope Alexander VI., caused that of his predecessors to be totally forgotten. Of this monster it will be time to speak in narrating the catastrophe, which, during his pontificate, and partly through his misdeeds, overwhelmed the whole of Italy.*

5. *Naples.*

The kingdom of Naples resembles a perpetually stormy sea, which becomes monotonous by the change

* For the history of Rome, besides older works, see Gregorovius' *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.*, Vol. VII., and Reumont's *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.*, Vol. III., parts 1 and 2.

less uniformity of its motion. It is true that the Hohenstauffen period had been one of glory; but it closed with Manfred's noble death and the tragic end of Corradino (29th October 1268), a drama of which the lugubrious echo resounds throughout the Middle Ages. The triumph of the Angevins, summoned across the Alps by the Popes—always the bitterest enemies of the mighty Frederic II. and his successors—was the beginning of endless calamities. The bad government of Charles I. of Anjou soon drove the people into rebellion; in order to subdue them it was necessary to lean upon the barons, who, becoming exceedingly powerful, split up into factions, tore the miserable country to pieces, and were a powerful weapon in the hands of the Popes, who always hastened to call in a new pretender whenever they beheld any one prince becoming formidable. In this way they sought to acquire territory for their nephews, and maintain their pretended supremacy in the kingdom, which they devastated and plunged into anarchy with infinite harm to all Italy. Nevertheless they also had to pay the penalty of this iniquitous system of policy, for the Roman nobles having extended their dominions down into the south, and being therefore subjects of two States, became a lever used by turns to the hurt of one or the other, with fatal results for both. Accordingly the whole kingdom of Naples was subjected to a process of dissolution. New pretenders arose every day, the people were always oppressed, the barons always in revolt, no institutions could acquire stability or firm-

ness, no individual character could long succeed in dominating and guiding the rest.

Under Joanna I., who had four husbands, and was suffocated to death under a feather bed, the kingdom had fallen into complete anarchy, and the court turned into an assemblage of dissolute adventurers. Later King Ladislaus seemed about to initiate a new era. He had subjugated the barons, conquered internal enemies, placed a garrison in Rome itself, and was advancing at the head of a powerful army, after inspiring all men with the belief that he was willing and capable of making himself king of all Italy, when he died suddenly at Perugia, as all believed of poison, in 1414. With Joanna II., the sister of Ladislaus, a fresh period of obscenity and anarchy began. A widow, elderly, dissolute, the mistress of her own steward, she allowed the State to fall a prey to the nobility, mercenary leaders, and courtiers of the lowest stamp. Martin V., who had had her crowned in 1419, sent the following year for Louis III. of Anjou to come and assert his claims to the throne. Joanna in her turn invited Alfonso of Aragon over from Spain and proclaimed him her successor, but shortly nominated in his stead René of Lorraine, who was supported by Pope Eugene IV. and the Duke of Milan. Then followed a long and ruinous war, which only came to an end when Alfonso of Aragon, after winning many battles, entered the capital by the aqueducts of the Capuan Gate on 2nd June 1442, and became at last master of the kingdom which he had conquered at the expense of so

long a war and such enormous efforts. This was the foundation of the Aragonese dynasty.

It is hardly necessary to say in what a miserable condition the State then was, and how universal was the desire for peace. Alfonso's triumph was hailed as the beginning of a new era. He had left Spain to come and carry on in our country an adventurous war, in which, after dangers and hardships of every description, he had conquered a vast kingdom, fighting a great number of enemies, and defeating the first captains of the age. A stranger in Italy, he now ruled provinces which had been long harassed and domineered over by strangers. He had besides rapidly lost all foreign characteristics, and become in all things similar to our princes, with the addition of a warlike and chivalric spirit which they very seldom possessed. He went about unarmed and unattended among his people, saying that a father should have no fear of his own children. His Court was crowded with learned men, and a thousand anecdotes are related in proof of his extraordinary admiration of ancient writers. Happening to march with his army past a city, the birthplace of some Latin writer, he stopped as before a sanctuary; he never made a journey without having a copy of Livy or Cæsar with him. His panegyrist Panormita pretended to have cured him of an illness, by reading to him a few pages of Quintus Curtius; Cosimo dei Medici had concluded a peace with him, by sending him one of Livy's codices. A warrior and a man of unprejudiced mind, he gave a welcome to all scholars

who were persecuted elsewhere. This was the case with Valla when he had to fly from Rome on account of his pamphlet against the temporal power of the Popes; the same with Panormita when his *Ermafrodito*, although much lauded for the facile elegance of its versification, excited scandal by an obscenity which had not yet become familiar to men of learning, and was publicly anathematized from the pulpit. These and many other *literati* were cordially received at the Neapolitan Court, and splendidly rewarded with large salaries, houses and villas.

Exalted to the skies by the learned, Alfonso gained the title of the Magnanimous through his generosity and knightly spirit. But as a statesman, as founder of a dynasty and pacificator of a kingdom, one cannot accord him much praise. After having ravaged the unfortunate southern provinces with war, he drained them by taxes levied to pay his soldiery and reward his adherents the nobles, whom he loaded with favours and rendered more tyrannical than they were before. Given up to the pleasures of life, he never succeeded, during the sixteen years of undisputed rule that remained to him, in founding anything durable, in doing anything to relieve the people from the depth of misery in which his wars had plunged them, or to assure his dynasty through the consolidation of the kingdom. Dying, 1458, at the age of sixty-three, he bequeathed his hereditary states in Spain together with Sicily and Sardinia to his brother; while the kingdom of Naples, fruit of his

victories, he left to his natural son Ferdinand, whose maternal origin is involved in mystery.

Heir to a vast kingdom, conquered and pacified by his father, Ferdinand, or Ferrante as he was called, had a right to expect that he might quietly enjoy its possession; but, on the contrary, he was obliged to re-conquer it all again by force of arms, for the latent disorder now quickly broke out. The first spark of discord was lit by Pope Calixtus, who owed everything to Alfonso, and had himself legitimised Ferrante's birth. But he now declared the Aragonese line extinct, and claimed the kingdom as a fief of the Church. The Angevin barons were in arms, René of Lorraine landed between the mouths of the Volturno and the Garigliano; revolutions broke out in Calabria and elsewhere. Yet, with enemies on all sides, Ferrante, by 1464, had succeeded in again subjugating the whole kingdom; and then, instead of establishing order, thought of nothing but revenging himself upon his foes. He was accustomed to destroy his enemies by treacherous means, and, with cynical cruelty, would embrace them, caress them, and entertain them gaily at dinner before sending them to their death. A man of remarkable ability, of great courage and political penetration, but full of vices and contradictions, he governed in a most ruinous manner, and even traded on his own account. He would collect a stock of merchandise and then forbid his subjects to sell theirs until he had disposed of his at his own price. All his transactions were based upon a false and artificial system, which

ended by destroying the strength of the State, although the king had chosen very able men as ministers. Of these the best known are his secretary, Antonello Petrucci, and Pontano, who, besides being one of the finest scholars of his age, was also a very acute diplomatist, and Ferrante's prime minister; it was he who conducted all affairs with the other Italian States, wrote all diplomatic despatches, and concluded all treaties. Francesco Coppola, the very rich and powerful Count of Sarno, carried on commercial operations in quest of money, unhampered by scruples of any sort. But these clever ministers were but the tools of the false policy of a crafty and ingenious tyrant, who looked upon his State and his people in the light of a property from which it was his duty to squeeze as much as possible during his life, and leave his heirs to take care of themselves. Then, too, his son Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, was prouder, more cruel, and more tyrannical than his father, without possessing either his ability or his courage, and disgusted all who approached him. When the Turks who were occupying Otranto, suddenly withdrew, on account of the death of Mahomet II., it appeared as though they were flying before Alfonso, and that so increased his pride and made him so much more unbearable, that Antonello Petrucci himself and the Count of Sarno, immeasurably disgusted, and foreseeing the evils that the character of the heir to the throne would bring about in the future, placed themselves at the head of the malcontents and determined to attempt a revolt. Pope Innocent fanned the flame, and the result was

that great conspiracy of the barons which set the kingdom of Naples ablaze and threatened to cause a general war throughout Italy (1485). Ferrante's craft and courage sufficed to calm even this tempest; he concluded a treaty of peace, and, as usual, succeeded in revenging himself upon his enemies. But his was a policy that could only be successful while it was a question of keeping under a turbulent and exhausted kingdom by still further exhausting it. When, however, dangers attacked it from abroad, matters were beyond remedy.

And such a danger was now at hand, for Charles VIII. of France was making preparations for the fatal expedition, which was the signal for the renewal of foreign descents upon the Peninsula. Ferrante, now an old man, quickly took alarm, and warned all the princes of Italy of the coming calamity, entreating them to unite for the common defence. The letters he wrote at that time have a painful tone, a passionate eloquence which seems to elevate and ennoble his mind, and an extraordinary political acumen which is almost prophetic.* He perceived and described to admiration all the calamities which awaited his country and the princes who, like himself, blinded by their own cunning, had rendered unavoidable the common misfortune. But it was already too late. Italy could not escape the abyss into which she was already falling. Ferrante had to go down to his grave with his conscience tortured

* *Vide* the *Codice Aragonese*, published by Cav. Prof. F. Trinchon, superintendent of the Archivi Napolitani, in 3 vols., Naples, 1866-74.

beforehand by the fall of his kingdom and of his dynasty, a fall which was already seen to be inevitable when death closed his eyes on the 25th January 1494.

All the lengthy drama which we have so far described is but a preparation for the coming catastrophe. And if we were to turn our attention from the greater to the minor States into which the Peninsula is divided, we should find at Ferrara, Faenza, Rimini, Urbino, everywhere, the same series of crimes, the same corruption. Indeed, the petty princes, exactly because they were weaker and involved in greater dangers, often perpetrated more numerous and grosser acts of cruelty in order to save their threatened power. Still, they never neglected the encouragement of literary culture, of the fine arts, of the most exquisite refinements of civil life, thus bringing out still more forcibly the singular contrast, which is one of the special characteristics of the Italian Renaissance, and is one of the greatest difficulties it offers to our comprehension.

Many Italian writers, animated by a spirit of patriotism that is not always the most trustworthy guide in judging of historical facts, have tried to prove that the social and political condition of Italy in the fifteenth century was similar to that of the rest of Europe, and need not, therefore, excite any astonishment. Louis XI., they remind us, was a monster of cruelty, and author of the most fraudulent intrigues; the poisonings of Richard III. are not unknown; Ferdinand, the Catholic, prided himself on having duped Louis XII. ten times; the great Captain Consalvo was

23370

a notorious perjurer, &c., &c.* It is but too true that the formation of the greater European States was accomplished by destroying local governments and institutions by treachery and violence; and, in these conditions of warfare, the blackest crimes and most atrocious acts of revenge everywhere took place; and although such deeds seem almost natural in the general barbarity of the Middle Ages, they appear utterly monstrous and unwarrantable amid the mental culture of the Renaissance. And in Italy such crimes were certainly less excusable than elsewhere, since their culture had reached a higher pitch, and the contradiction presented by this mixture of civilisation and barbarism was still more evident.

Nor must it be forgotten that monarchs such as Louis XI. and Ferdinand the Catholic, notwithstanding their crimes, completed a national work, making of France and Spain two great and powerful nations, while our thousand-and-one tyrants always kept the country divided with the sole and personal object of maintaining themselves on their sorry thrones. And if the policy of the fifteenth century was everywhere bad, it must be acknowledged that it originated in Italy, who taught it to other nations, and the number who pursued it in Italy was infinitely greater than in any other country. At every step we come upon tyrants, faction-leaders, conspirators, politicians, diplomatists; indeed,

* *Considerazioni sul libro del Principe*, added by Professor A. Zambelli to the volume containing *Il Principe i Discorsi di N. Machiavelli.* Florence, Le Monnier, 1857.

every Italian seemed to be a politician and diplomatist from his very cradle. Thus corruption was more universal than elsewhere, spreading in wide circles from the government through society at large; and so it happened that this Italian policy which brought into action such prodigious intellectual forces, and produced so great a variety of characters, ended here in Italy by building only upon sand. It is true that on going lower down in the social scale, we find the ties of kindred still respected, ancient customs still preserved, and a far better moral atmosphere. And if we turn away from regions where, as in the case of Naples, Rome, and the Romagna, a continued series of revolutions had upset and thrown everything into confusion, we find in Tuscany, in Venetia, and elsewhere, a population far more civilised, milder, and more cultivated than in the remainder of Europe, and far fewer crimes committed. Historians, especially foreign ones, have never taken this fact into account, and, judging the whole nation by the higher classes, who were also the more corrupt, they have formed mistaken conclusions as to the moral condition of Italy, who would have fallen to an even lower depth, and could never have come to life again, had she been altogether as bad as they have described.

It must, however, be confessed that it was not merely because political life was reserved for the few in France, Spain, and Germany, that the corruption caused by it was less diffused. The reason lay deeper: in those countries there were institutions and traditions that still stood firm, opinions that were never discussed, authorities that

were always respected. These naturally created a public strength and morality altogether wanting among ourselves, where all things were submitted to the minutest analysis by the restless Italian mind, which, in seeking the elements of a new world, destroyed that in which it existed. The Venetian and Florentine ambassadors at the court of Charles VIII., or of Louis XII., appeared to turn everything into ridicule. They found the monarch without ability, the diplomatists untrained, administration confused, business conducted at hazard; but they were amazed by observing the immense authority enjoyed by the king. "When His Majesty moves," said they, "all men follow him." And in this consisted the great strength of the French nation. Guicciardini, in his despatches from Spain, plainly shows his hatred and contempt for that country, yet he cannot abstain from noticing that the personal interests of Ferdinand the Catholic being in agreement with the general interests of the nation, the royal policy derived enormous strength and value from that fact. The customs of Germany and Switzerland appeared to Machiavelli similar to those of the ancient Romans whom he so heartily admired. Had the disorder and moral corruption of other nations been altogether identical with that which one found in Italy, how could we interpret these judgments of highly competent men? How could it be explained that Italy was already decaying, even before being overrun by foreigners, while other nations were budding into new life? But, as we have before remarked, it is necessary to guard against all exaggera-

tion, or it would be impossible to understand the great vitality which the Italian nation undoubtedly possessed, and, above all, its marvellous progress in art and letters. It is to this latter subject that we will now turn.

III.

I. PETRARCH AND THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.*

NO great distance of time separates Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) from Francesco Petrarca (1304-74), but whoever studies their life and writings might almost believe them to belong to two different ages. Dante's immortal works are the opening of a new era, but Dante still stands with one foot in the Middle Ages. He has made himself "parte per se stesso," and has a supreme

* Regarding Petrarch as a man of learning, our best sources of information are his own letters, well edited and annotated by Fracassetti—*Epistolæ de rebus familiaribus et variæ*: Florentiæ, Typis Felicis Le Monnier, 1859-63, 3 vols.; *Lettere Familiari e Varie* (translation, with notes), 5 vols.: Florence, Le Monnier, 1863-64; and *Lettere Senili*: Le Monnier, 1869-70. Besides this, a valuable study upon Petrarch is to be found in Dr. Georg Voigt's *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums, oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*: Berlin, Reimer, 1859. This work, and that of Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, are of the greatest importance for the history of Italian learning. Other interesting books on the same subject are: *Petrarque, Etude d'apres de nouveaux documents*, par A. Mézières: Paris, Didier, 1868; and the *Petrarka* of Ludwig Geiger: Leipzig, Duncher und Humblot, 1874. Professor Mézières makes much use of the letters published by Fracassetti, but hardly any of Voigt and Burckhardt's estimable works. Geiger's work, on the other hand, is a synthesis of all that others had written before him, and was published on the occasion of the centenary celebrated in Arquà, the 18th July 1874, when two very interesting speeches, one by Carducci, the other by Aleardi, were also published. Of other recent works on Petrarch, such as that of De Sanctis (*Critical Essay on Petrarch:* Naples, 1869), it is unnecessary to speak here, since they treat of the Italian poet, and not of the man of learning.

disdain for the bad and iniquitous company ("compagnia malvagia e scempia") that surrounds him,* but he is always a most energetic partisan, fighting sword in hand amid the Guelph and Ghibelline factions. The Empire which he desires and invokes is always the mediæval Empire, and he defends it with arguments borrowed from the scholastic philosophy, which even penetrates into his *Divine Comedy.* Thus Dante's image remains as though hewn in marble by Michael Angelo, in the midst of the tumultuous passions of his age, against which he fights, but out of which he has not yet found his way. Petrarch, on the contrary, is of weaker mould, of less original poetical genius, is neither Guelph nor Ghibelline; he despises scholastic philosophy; feels that literature is becoming a new power in the world, and that he owes all his force to his own genius; he has almost forgotten the Middle Ages, and comes before us as the first modern writer. It is, however, singular to observe how together with all this he was an almost fanatical enthusiast for the Latin writers whom he studied and imitated all his life, neither imagining nor desiring anything better than the revival of their culture, their ideas, and even their policy. The explanation of how these same continual efforts to return to the ancient world led instead to the discovery of a new, is, as we have already remarked, the problem which has to be solved by the historian of the revival of learning in the fifteenth century. This singular phenomenon is already clearly

* *Paradiso*, canto xvii. 61-63, 67-69.

visible in Petrarch, for in him we find the germ of the whole following century, and the many men of learning who succeed him seem only to take, each one of them, some one portion of the multiple work which he embraced in its entirety, excepting the study of Greek which he could only encourage by his advice. From his early youth Petrarch forsook law and scholastic philosophy for Cicero and Virgil; he travelled about the world, employed all his friends in obtaining ancient manuscripts for him, and formed a very valuable collection of them. He transcribed much with his own hand, sought out unknown or forgotten authors, but his special quest was for works of Cicero, who was his idol, and he discovered two of his orations at Liège and his private letters at Verona.* This was a great literary event, for the flowing and somewhat pompous eloquence of Cicero became the constant model of Petrarch and other learned men, and his epistles were in especial favour as being the most diffuse form of literary composition. The letters of Petrarch inaugurate the long series, they

* It is known that Petrarch believed that he had once possessed Cicero's *De Gloria*, and then lost it through lending it to his master, who, pressed by poverty, sold it, to Petrarch's life-long regret. Voigt, in his *Wiederbelebung*, pp. 25, 26, expresses his belief that Petrarch was mistaken upon this point. The volume he had lent contained many treatises; it is possible, therefore, says Voigt, that the title *De Gloria* was given by the copyists, as often happened, to one or more chapters of some other work—the *Tusculane*, for instance. This is the learned writer's hypothesis, and is founded on the observation that Petrarch lent the work when very young, at a time when he knew but little of Cicero's writings, and that later he was never able to make any exact statements about that work. If ever really possessed by Petrarch, concludes Voigt, it is hardly credible that, even if missing for a time, it should have been lost for ever.

form his best biography, and are a literary and historical monument of sovereign importance. They are addressed to his friends, to princes, to posterity, to the great writers of antiquity. Every affection, every thought, finds a place in them; and the author exercises himself, under Cicero's faithful guidance, in every literary style. History, archæology, philosophy, are all treated of in these letters, which thus, on the one hand, form an encyclopedic manual admirably fitted for the collection and diffusion of a new culture, too young to support as yet a more scientific treatment. On the other hand, the author displays his own intellect in these letters, gives free vent to his affections, describes people and princes, different characters, and different lands. In Petrarch, the scholar and the practical observer of reality are united; indeed, we can discern how one was born of the other, and how antiquity, leading the man of the Middle Ages by the hand, guides him from mysticism to reality, from the city of God to that of men, and helps him to acquire independence of mind.

If, however, we examine the form of these epistles of Petrarch, we find that his Latinity is often both inelegant and incorrect; no one would dare to place it on a level with that of the classic writers, and it is inferior to that used later by Poliziano, Fracastoro, and Sannazzaro. We must compare it with that of the Middle Ages to see the immense stride that he has made, and the superiority of his Latin to that of Dante himself. But Petrarch's highest merit by no means consists in this new classic elegance; it consists in the fact that

he was the first to write freely of all things in the same way that a man speaks. He was the first to throw aside all scholastic crutches, and prove how much more swiftly a man could walk without leaning upon them. Sometimes a little too proud of this, he occasionally abuses his facility, falls into artifices that are mere *tours de force*, or allows himself to chatter like a child who, having made the discovery that his tongue can express his thoughts, goes on talking even when he has nothing more to say.*

Petrarch, in short, broke through the mediæval meshes, in which man's intellect was still entangled, and by means of his new style showed the way to treat of all subjects in a clear and spontaneous manner. In reading his epistles, we are often amazed by the fervour of his almost Pagan love of glory. It seems sometimes to be the principal motive of his actions, the scope of existence substituted by him for the ancient Christian ideal. Dante had already learned from Brunetto Latini how man may make himself eternal; but although in his *Inferno* the condemned think much of their earthly glory, in the *Purgatorio* there is far less anxiety about it; we are told that Oderisi da Gubbio was punished † "*per lo gran desio dell' eccellenza*," and it disappears entirely in the *Paradiso*, where the things of earth are almost forgotten. The Middle Ages sought for eternity in another world, the Renaissance sought it in this, and Petrarch had already embraced this new order of ideas. In his opinion, it was the desire for glory that inspired

* Voigt makes this comparison.

† "For his great desire of excellence."

all eloquence, all magnanimous enterprises, all virtuous deeds; and he was never weary of seeking glory, was never satiated with it, although no man ever attained to so much during his life. The rulers of the Florentine republic wrote to him "obsequiously and reverently" (*ossequenti e riverenti*), as to one "whose equal the past knew not, nor would future ages know."* Popes and cardinals, kings and princes, alike deemed it an honour to have him for their guest.† A tottering old man, deprived of sight, traversed the whole of Italy, leaning on one of his sons and one of his pupils, in order to embrace the knees of the immortal man and print a kiss upon the brow that had conceived so many sublime things; and it is Petrarch himself who tells us this with great satisfaction.‡ The day on which he received the poet's crown on the Capitol (8th April 1341) was the most solemn and happiest of his life: "not so much on my own account," he says, "as an incitement to others to attain excellence."

This sentiment becomes sometimes, as it were, the familiar spirit (or Daemon) of the Renaissance. Cola di Rienzo, Stefano Porcaro, Girolamo Olgiati, and many others, were less stirred by a veritable love of liberty than by a wish to emulate Brutus. At the scaffold's

* *Lettere Familiari*, Italian edition. *Vide* note to the fifth letter of the eleventh book. Petrarch received the invitation on 6th April 1351. *Nota bene* that we always quote from Fracassetti's edition of Petrarch's letters.

† "*Et ita cum quibusdam fui, ut ipsi quodammodo mecum essent*," he himself says in his Letter *ad Posteros*. *Fam. et Variæ*, Latin edition, Vol. I. p. 3.

‡ *Lettere Senili*, bk. xvi. ep. 7, Vol. II. pp. 505-507.

foot, it was no longer the faith in another world, but only the hope of glory in this, which gave them courage to meet death. And Machiavelli expresses the ideas of his age, when he says that men, if unable to obtain glory by praiseworthy deeds, seek it by vile, since to make their names live after them is their sole desire.*

All things tend to urge Petrarch, and after him, his contemporaries and successors, towards the world of reality; he has a great passion for travelling, on purpose to see, and describe what he sees: *multa videndi amor ac studium.*†

He goes to Paris, to ascertain the truth of the marvels told of that city; at Naples he visits in detail the enchanting environs, with the Æneid as his guide. He seeks out the lakes of Avernus, Acheron and Lucrinus, the Sybil's cavern, Baia and Pozzuoli, and describes everything minutely, equally delighted with their natural beauties and classic memories.‡ Virgil had been Dante's guide in the three kingdoms of the unseen world; Virgil is Petrarch's guide in the study of nature. A fearful storm breaks over the bay one night, and he leaps from his bed; goes all over the city and down to the beach; watches the shipwrecks; observes the sea, the sky, and all the other phenomena; strolls into the churches among the praying people, and then writes a letter, which was one of his most celebrated. § All this

* *Opere*, Vol. I., proem to the *Storie*, p. clv.
† *Epistola ad Posteros*, at the beginning of the *Familiares*.
‡ *Lettere Familiari*, book v. ep. 4.
§ *Ibid.*, book v. ep. 5.

has no longer any novelty for us, born amid modern realism; but we must remember that Petrarch was the first to quit the mysticism of the Middle Ages, and in order to quit it he was obliged to don a Roman toga.

Dante it is true sometimes describes nature with a few marvellous touches, but all such descriptive bits are used by him as comparisons and accessories the better to bring his ideas and his personages into relief; Petrarch was the first writer to give to nature a value of her own, as in the pictures of the masters of the fifteenth century. In his descriptions of character there is a downright realism which recalls the portraits painted in later years by Masaccio, Lippi, and Mino da Fiesole. We find him drawing and colouring the truth just as it is, and because of its truth, without any other object. He is told of a certain Maria of Pozzuoli, a woman of enormous strength, who lives always armed, and is carrying on a hereditary feud, and he makes a journey on purpose to see her, speak with her, and describe her.*

He gives a lively description of the dissolute licence of the court of Joanna I., and of the sway exercised over it by the Franciscan friar Robert of Hungary.—"Of low stature, bald, red-faced; with swollen legs; rotten with vice; leaning bent upon his staff from hypocrisy rather than infirmity; dressed in a filthy frock, which leaves half his person uncovered, in order to feign poverty; this man strides through the palace with an air of command, despising all men, trampling justice

* *Lettere Familiari*, lib. v. ep. 4.

under foot, contaminating all things. Almost like a new Tiphys or Palinurus, he steers through the tempest this vessel that must speedily sink." *

Elsewhere he brings before us with singular graphic power the stern figure of Stefano Colonna, saying, that "although old age had somewhat cooled the spirit in his fierce breast, yet even when seeking peace, he always finds war, since he would rather go down to the tomb fighting than bend his unconquered head." † These plain and speaking outlines, intermingled with continual quotations from the classics, and almost with fragments of antiquity, gain even greater force by the contrast, and make us see with our own eyes, touch with our own hands, the new world that is being born of the revival of the old.

If, too, we seek in Petrarch no longer the man of letters but the individual, then we find that, in spite of his own goodness and sincere admiration for virtue in others, there was already apparent in him that weak changeableness of character, that excitable vanity, that attributing to words almost the same importance as to facts and actions, which subsequently formed the usual temper of the learned men of the fifteenth century. He is one of those who have most loudly extolled friendship, pouring out treasures of affection in his letters to his friends; but it would not be easy to find in his life any example of a deep and ideal friendship, like that, for instance, which

* *Lettere Familiari*, book v. ep. 3. Fracassetti gives this letter the date of 23d November 1343.

† *Lettere Familiari*, lib. viii. ep. 1.

is manifest in Dante's expressions about Guido Cavalcanti. A great deal of this expansive affection of his vented itself in the literary exercise to which it gave rise. Some may think that this was contradicted by Petrarch's constant passion for Madonna Laura, who inspired him with those immortal verses, which, in spite of his own contempt for them, form his greatest glory. It is certain that in his *Canzoniere*, we find the truest, most refined analysis of the human heart, a diction free from all antiquated forms—even more modern than the language of many writers of the Cinquecento—and so transparent that the writer's thoughts shine through it, as through purest crystal. It is certainly impossible to doubt the existence of true and sincere passion; but this Canon who proclaims his love to all the winds of heaven, publishes a sonnet for every sigh, tells all the world how great is his despair if his Laura will not look upon him, and all the time is making love to another woman, to whom he addresses no sonnets, but by whom he has several children; how can he make men believe that his passion is really as he describes it, eternal, pure, and sole ruler of his thoughts?*

* Prof. Mézières, in the fourth chapter of his work on Petrarch, relates how the poet began to love Laura in 1330, that she was the wife of Hugh de Sade since 1325, and died in 1348, leaving a large family. In 1331, according to Mézières, Petrarch's passion was very strong, and continued the same until after Laura's death. Then the French biographer, obliged to admit that Petrarch, Canon of Lombez, and Archdeacon of Parma, did not content himself with this species of affection, but at the same time loved another woman by whom he had a son in 1337, and a daughter in 1343, makes the following remarks :—"Ce n 'est pas *une des particularités les moins curieuses* de son amour pour Laure qu 'au moment où il éprouvait pour elle une passion si vive, il fût capable de chercher ailleurs ces plaisirs

And here again the noble figure of Dante shines before us with increased brightness; Dante, who concealed himself lest other men should guess the secret of his love, and who only wrote when his passion, having mastered his strength, burst from his lips, in the shape of immortal verse. Yet Dante's Beatrice is ever wrapped in an ethereal veil of mysticism, and finally transfigured into theology, is removed even farther from us; Petrarch's Laura, on the contrary, is always a real woman of flesh and blood; we see her close to us, her voluptuous glances fascinate the poet, and even in his moments of greatest exaltation, he remains of the earth earthly.

In his political career too, Petrarch's mutability—to call it by no harsher name—is also plainly apparent. He was a friend of the Colonnas, to whom he professed to owe everything, "body, soul, fortune,"* and by whom he was beloved like a son, and received like a brother, yet after he had overwhelmed them with exaggerated praises, he forsook them in the moment of their danger. In fact

des sens qu'elle lui réfusait obstinément. C'ést une histoire analogue à celle d'un grand écrivain de nôtre siécle, qui au sortir du salon d'une femme célèbre où il était réduit, malgré lui, à aimer platoniquement, se dedommageait dans des amours plus faciles, des privations qu' il subissait auprès de sa maitresse" (page 153). But it is by such *particularités curieuses* that one judges a man's character; and Prof. Mézières, who wished to prove the seriousness and depth of Petrarch's love, and of his general character, would have done better to refrain from alluding to Chateaubriand, whose character showed much frivolity and inconsistency.

* *Lettere Senili*, book xvi., ep. 1. See also *Lettere Familiari*, book v., ep. 3; book vii., ep. 13; book xiii., ep. 6; *Epist. ad Posteros*, and in the Italian edition of the *Lettere Familiari* the two notes to the 1st and 12th epistles in book viii.

when Cola di Rienzo began the extermination of that family in Rome, Petrarch, who entertained a boundless admiration for the classical Tribune, encouraged him to persevere in the destruction of the nobility: "Towards them every severity is a religious duty, all pity an inhumanity. Pursue them sword in hand, even could you only overtake them in hell itself."* But this did not prevent him from writing, almost at the same moment, pompous letters of condolence to Cardinal Colonna: "Though your House have lost a few of its columns, what matters it! It will ever have in thee a solid foundation. Julius Cæsar was one man, yet sufficient for all."† Later on he again considered the Colonna as Massimi and Metelli;‡ but he did not therefore refrain from calling the Tribune to account for his weakness in not having rid himself of his enemies when able to do so.§ It is true that he tried to excuse himself by saying that he did not fail in gratitude; *sed carior Respublica, carior Roma, carior Italia.*‖ But what prevented him from keeping silence? And yet this very republican, so ardent an admirer of the third Brutus, "who unites in himself, and surpasses the glory of his two predecessors,"¶ shortly afterwards entreated the Emperor Charles IV. to come into Italy,

* *Epistolæ de rebus famil. et variæ*, Vol. III., ep. 48, pp. 422-32. This epistle is addressed to Cola di Rienzo and the Roman people.

† *Lettere Familiari*, book viii, ep. 1.

‡ *Lettere Familiari*, book viii., ep. 1.

§ *Lettere Familiari*, book xiii., ep. 6.

‖ *Lettere Familiari*, book xi., ep. 16.

¶ *Epistolæ de rebus famil. et variæ*, Vol. III., ep. 48, pp. 422-32.

saying that: "Italy invokes her spouse, her liberator, and waits impatiently to see his first footstep printed on her soil,* and who before had chosen even Robert of Naples as the subject of his praise, declaring that monarchy alone could save Italy.† It is also well known how many reproofs he addressed to the Popes, for leaving Rome which could not exist without them.

We cannot judge Petrarch otherwise than leniently when we see that he himself was unaware of these contradictions, because in point of fact all these speeches of his were nothing but literary exercises, never the expression of a sincere and profound political passion, desirous to translate itself into action. Given a subject, his pen ran most swiftly in Cicero's track, and followed the harmonious cadence of his periods. But, and here we again meet with Petrarch's most original characteristic: in treating of either republic, monarchy, or empire, he never speaks as a Florentine, always as an Italian. It is true that the Italy of his desire is often to be confounded with the ancient Rome, which he longs to revive, but for that very reason he is the first to see in his learned dreams the unity of the State and of the country. Dante's Italy is always mediæval; Petrarch's, although majestically enfolded in the toga of the Scipios, and the

* *Lettere Familiari*, book xii., ep. 1, 24th February 1350.

† *Epist. de rebus famil. et variæ*, book iii. ep. 7: "Monarchiam esse optimam relegendis, reparandisque viribus Italis, quas longus bellorum civilium sparsit furor. Haec ut ego novi, fateorque regium manum nostris moribus necessariam, etc." This was written in 1339 according to Fracassetti. See his note in the Italian edition.

Gracchi, is nevertheless a united and modern Italy. Thus in this, as in all else, we see that our author was even here a true representative of his times: in endeavouring to return to the past, he opened a new future. He seems always old, and is ever new; but we must never forget that the primary source of his inspiration is a literary one, otherwise we shall be led into continual mistakes and unjust judgments.

Petrarch is a fierce assailant of jurisprudence, medicine, philosophy, of all the sciences of his day, because they do not fulfil their promises, but rather keep the mind enchained amid a thousand sophistries. His writings are often directed against scholastic philosophy, alchemy, astrology, and he is also the first who dared openly to revolt against the unlimited authority of Aristotle, the idol of the Middle Ages. All this does the greatest honour to the good sense, which raised him above the prejudices of his day. But it would be a gross error to seek to find in him a daring scientific innovator. Petrarch does not fight in the name of a new principle or new method, but in the name of beauty of form and of true eloquence, which he cannot find in those sciences, and cannot discover in the ill translated and mutilated Aristotle of his times. Scholastic philosophy and its barbarous phraseology were incorporated in all the knowledge of the Middle Ages, and this barbarous phraseology was the enemy Petrarch fought against in all branches of learning. The Italian Renaissance was a revolution brought about in the human mind, and in culture by

the study of beauty of form inspired by the ancient classics. This revolution and all the perils occasioned by starting from form to arrive at substance are clearly and strikingly manifested in the writings of Petrarch, the man of learning, who has therefore been styled by some, not merely the precursor, but the prophet of the following century.

2. Learned Men in Florence.*

The work initiated by Petrarch speedily found a very large number of followers in Florence, and thence spread rapidly throughout Italy. In Florence, however, it was the natural outcome of the political and social conditions of a people, in whose midst even the learned of other provinces came to perfect themselves in their

* One of the most important works on the history of the learned men is the *Vite di Nomini illustri del secolo* xv., written by Vespasiano Bisticci, published for the first time by Mai, and then by Professor Adolfo Bartoli, Florence, Barbéra, 1859. Bisticci, although a most valuable authority for the width and certainty of his information, must, however, be examined with caution, on account of his excessive ingenuousness and want of critical faculty. His statistics are not trustworthy, and he seldom troubles himself to give dates. Tiraboschi's *Storia della Litteratura Italiana* (Florence, Molini, Landi & Co., 1805-13) contains a truly precious harvest of facts regarding the learned men. Voigt and Burckhardt, frequently quoted, offer important remarks. Nothing, however, but an examination of the works of the learned men allow us to form an exact judgment of their respective value. Nisard's work, *Les Gladiateurs de la Republique des lettres aux* xvme, xvime, xviime *siècles* (Paris, Levy, 1860), contains, notwithstanding the oddity of its title, very valuable observations. A vast miscellany of notices is to be found in the *Epistolae* of Ambrozio Traversari, published by Mehus, with a memoir of the author; the numerous biographies written by Carlo de Rosmini are very useful also, not as criticisms, but for exactness of facts. Other special works will be mentioned in the proper place.

studies, and gained, as it were, a second citizenship. In our histories of literature, which are frequently too full of biographical anecdotes and external facts, the names of these scholars are given in a mass, so that they all seem to be first-rate men, to have the same physiognomy and the same merits, and to hold the same object in view. To us, however, it is only important to know those who showed true originality amid the thousand others already fallen or now falling into deserved oblivion, who with feverish activity repeated the same things over and over again. Our object is not to give a catalogue of the learned men and their writings, but to study the literary and intellectual transformation which their work brought about in Italy.

The first learned men who offer themselves to our notice are friends, pupils or copyists of Petrarch. Boccaccio was one of his most diligent assistants, as a collector of numerous codices, an admirer and imitator of the Latin classics, and as promoter of the study of the Greek tongue, of which he was one of the first students. The works which were fruits of his learning are however lacking in true originality. His Latin writings on the "Genealogy of the Gods," on "Illustrious Women," on the "Nomenclature of Mountains, Forests, and Lakes," &c., are little else than a vast collection of antique fragments, without much philological or philosophical value. But his mind was saturated with the spirit of antiquity in so great a degree, that it shows itself in all his works,

even in those written in Italian. In fact, his Italian prose has too great an imitation of the Ciceronian period, and seems to intimate that the triumph of Latin will soon be universal.

After two men like Petrarch and Boccaccio had once started upon this road, Florence appeared suddenly transformed into a hive of learned men. Learned meetings and discussions were held on all sides, in palaces, convents, villas,* among wealthy people, tradesmen, statesmen: all wrote, travelled, sent messengers about the world to discover, buy, or copy ancient manuscripts. All this did not result as yet in any original work; but an enormous mass of material was collected, and the necessary means prepared for a thorough revolution in the field of letters. The importance of this activity did not consist in the immediate results obtained, but in the energy and power in this wise employed and developed. The city of art and trade associations had now become the centre of literary associations. The first of these reunions was held in the convent of Santo Spirito, by Luigi Marsigli or Marsili, an Augustine friar and doctor of Theology, who lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. He had been the friend of

* Many notices on this head are collected in the volume divided into two parts, which Alessandro Wesselofsky has added to his edition of the *Paradiso degli Alberti.* Vide *Il Paradiso degli Alberti, ritrovi e ragionamenti del* 1389, *romanzo di Giovanni da Prato,* edited by Alessandro Wesselofsky: Bologna, Romagnoli, 1867. These meetings took place now in the house of Coluccio Salutati, now at the Paradiso, a villa belonging to Antonio degli Alberti, outside the San Niccolò Gate.

Petrarch, was a man of mediocre ability, but to a great admiration for the ancients, he united an extraordinary memory, which gave him much aptitude for learned conversation; and for a long period Florentine scholars mentioned in their letters the profit derived from those discussions. The commentary written by Marsigli on Petrarch's "Ode to Italy," shows that he had not yet quite cut himself loose from the literature of the thirteenth century.* The two most noted frequenters of his cell,† Coluccio Salutati and Niccolo Niccoli,‡ had, however, already entered on the new path. Salutati, born in the Val di Nievole in the year 1330, was also the friend and admirer of Petrarch, an earnest promoter of erudition, and a great collector of codices. He was the author of numerous Latin orations, dissertations, and treatises, and in consequence received from Filippo Villani, as a title of honour, the name of "real aper of Cicero." But his inflated and incorrect style, and his confused erudition, would not have sufficed to hand his name down to posterity, had not

* *Comento a una canzone di Francesco Petrarca*, by Luigi Marsili: Bologna, Romagnoli, 1863. Wesselofsky has been one of the first to remark that there was a period of transition between the "Trecentisti" and the learned men.

† Also known as Lino, Niccoluccio, Niccolino.

‡ Voigt, at page 115, also mentions Gianozzo Manetti as one who frequented these reunions; but it is a mistake. Luigi Marsigli was born about 1330, and died on the 21st August 1394 (Tiraboschi, Vol. V. p. 171: Florence, Molini, Landi & Co., 1805-13). Manetti was born in 1396 (Tiraboschi, Vol. VI. p. 773), and belongs to a later generation. The origin of this mistake is, because after Marsigli's death, Vangelista da Pisa and Girolamo da Napoli taught at St Spirito, and Manetti studied under them.

his moral qualities given even to his literary work an original stamp. Of exemplary character, and a lover of liberty, he was elected secretary of the Republic in 1375, and served it with the utmost zeal and ardour to the time of his death. Animated by patriotism and the love of letters, he freed the Florentine official style of writing from all scholastic forms, trying instead to render it classical and Ciceronian, and thus he was the first to write diplomatic and business documents like works of art, and he wrote them with singular success. Galeazzo Maria Visconti is said to have declared himself more afraid of one of Salutati's letters than of a thousand Florentine knights; and it is an undoubted fact that when the Republic was at war with the Pope, the letters written by Salutati, who, in a magniloquent style evoked the ancient memories of Rome, had the effect of stirring to revolt, in the name of liberty, many territories belonging to the Church. Classic names, reminiscences and forms, had the power of arousing a truly wonderful enthusiasm in the Italian mind.

And Salutati's work had very noteworthy consequences even in the future. The enlistment of literature in the service of politics, increasingly bound up the former with the public life of the Florentines, and prepared the way for a radical transformation in the latter. The old forms and conventionalities were gradually replaced by true and precise formulas, which, just as they had forced literary men to turn their eyes from heaven to earth, and from

mysticism to reality, also induced statesmen to treat affairs from a natural point of view, and to rule men by studying their passions, without allowing themselves to be shackled by prejudice and traditional usage. This way led by gradual steps to the political science of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, which owes to learning not a few of its merits and defects. From this moment dates the introduction of that use and abuse of eloquence, logic and subtlety, to forward certain political ends, which later became cunning and deceit. Salutati, however, never ceased to preserve his sincerity and open habit of mind.*

Up to the last day of his life he continued to study and to encourage youth in his own love for the classics.† He was sixty-five years old when a rumour

* Voigt has been the first to notice this point respecting Salutati.

† Leonardo Aretino has recorded that he owed to Salutati his knowledge of Greek and thorough study of Latin. "Nemo unquam parens in unico diligendo filio tam sedulus fuit quam ille in me." And Coluccio mentions this friendship with great delicacy and much nobility of language: "Continua et studiosa nobis consuetudo fuit, et cum de cunctis quæ componerem judex esset, et ego suarum rerum versa vice, nos mutuo, sicut ferrum ferro acuitur, exacueramus; nec facile dixerim ex hoc dulce et honesto contubernio, uter nostrum plus profecerit. Uterque tamen eruditior evasit, fateri oporteat mutuo nos fuisse vicissim discipulus et magister." These two fragments of letters are given in Moreni's preface, p. xi. of the *Invectiva Lini Coluccii Salutati in Antonium Luscum Vicentinum:* Florence, 1826. Loschi, or Lusco, as P. Bracciolini calls him, was learned in Latin and civil law, was chancellor to Gio. Galeazzo, then Secretary at Rome from the times of Gregory XII, to those of Nicholas V. Having spoken ill of Florence, Coluccio retorted with his *Invectiva*, an example of the exaggeration and inflation sometimes reached by the learned style of writing. "Quænam urbs, non in Italia solum, sed in universo terrarum orbe est moenibus tutior, superbior palatiis, templis ornatior, formosiora edificiis; quæ porticu clarior, platea speciosior, viarum amplitudine laetior; quæ populo maior,

that Emmanuel Crisolora, of Constantinople, was about to come to Florence to teach Greek, intoxicated him with joy, and seemed to give him back his youth. In 1406 he died at the age of seventy-six, and was buried in the Cathedral with much solemnity, after his deeds had been celebrated in a Latin oration, and his corpse crowned with the poet's laurel. From that time the Republic always chose celebrated men of letters for her secretaries. The long series beginning with Salutati, comprised Marcello Virgilio, Machiavelli, and Giannotti,* and all the Italian courts followed the example given by Florence.

Nicolo Niccoli was a celebrated man in his day,

civibus gloriosior, inexhaustior divitiis, cultior agris; quæ situ gratior, salubrior coelo, mundior caeno; quæ puteis crebior, aquis suavior?" &c. &c. And he goes on in this style for many pages (see p. 125 and fol.). According to P. Bracciolini (see note to p. xxvii. of the preface to the *Invectiva*), Salutati had a collection of 800 codices, a very extraordinary number in those days. And this is how Leonardo Aretino speaks of the liberality with which Salutati gave copies of these to all his friends, after again repeating his praises of the disposition of his friend and master: "Ut omittam quod pater communis erat omnium, et amator bonorum . . . omnes in quibus conspiciebat lumen ingenii, non solum verbis incendebat ad virtutem, verum multo magis cum copiis, tum libris suis juvabat, quos ille pleno copia cornu non magis usui suo quam ceterorum esse volebat." (See p. xxvii. of the above quoted preface.) Afterwards Salutati's library was dispersed, being sold by his sons (*Ibid*, pp. xxvii.-viii.). Shepherd, in his *Vita di Poggio Bracciolini*, gives various notices of Salutati, a few of his letters, and a catalogue of his works. See the edition of Salutati's *Epistolæ*, prepared by Mehus, which is not, however, very correct. Many of Salutati's writings still remain unedited in the public libraries of Florence.

* After Coluccio Salutati, the following were successively among the secretaries of the Republic: Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini, Poggio Bracciolini, Benedetto Accolti, Cristoforo Landino, Bartolommeo Scala, Marcello Virgilio Adriani, who was first secretary while Machiavelli was second, Donato Giannotti, and not a few others.

although no author, and only an intelligent collector of manuscripts, which he often copied and corrected with his own pen. Yet, for the sake of classical studies, he put himself to infinite trouble and expense, and made many sacrifices. His researches after ancient manuscripts extended to the East and the West, for he gave letters and commissions to all travelling Florentines and those resident in foreign countries. A frugal liver, he spent his whole fortune, and ran heavily into debt, in order to purchase books. His energy was so great, that applications were made to him from all quarters respecting ancient codices, and it is chiefly owing to him that Florence then became the great book centre of the world, and possessed librarians as intelligent as Vespasiano Bisticci, who was also the biographer of all the learned men of his day. Niccoli was also most indefatigable in attracting the most reputed scholars of Italy to Florence, in order to have them employed in the Florentine University,* or in other ways. It was through his efforts that Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini, Poggio Bracciolini, Traversari, Crisolora, Guarino, Filelfo, were summoned to Florence and given employment. But being of an irritable disposition, his friendship easily changed to aversion, he then persecuted those whom he had previously protected, and as he enjoyed the favour of the Medici, his power of persecution was very great. To him and to Palla Strozzi is to be ascribed the reform of the Florentine university, and the encouragement of the study of Greek. So intense

* Then known as the Studio Fiorentino.

was his ardour for the propagation of learning, that after the fashion of a religious missionary, he would stop rich young Florentines in the street, exhorting them to devote themselves to *virtue, i.e.*, to Greek and Latin literature. Piero di Pazzi, a youth who only lived, as he himself said, to enjoy himself ("per darsi bel tempo"), was one of his converts, and became a man of learning. *

Niccoli's house was a museum and ancient library, Niccoli himself, a living bibliographical encyclopedia. He had a collection of eight hundred codices, valued at six thousand florins.† In these days it is easy to realise the importance of a good library in an age when printing was unknown, and the price of a single manuscript was very often quite beyond the means of students, even when they knew where to seek it. Niccoli's library was thrown open to all, and all came to his house to study, to make researches, to copy, to ask help and counsel that was never withheld. Even at his frugal table he surrounded himself with objects of antiquity, and Vespasiano tells us, that "it was a rare sight to see how ancient he made himself."‡ The frivolous points of his character, and the somewhat ludicrous scandals of his private life, caused by a female servant who ruled him entirely, were passed over on account of his sincere, con-

* *Vide* Vespasiano's *Vita di Piero de Pazzi.*

† In his *Vita di N. Niccoli,* 8th paragraph, Vespasiano gives the number of volumes at eight hundred; other writers state that they barely exceeded six hundred. Poggio Bracciolini (see preface to Salutati's *Invectiva,* before cited, page 27) also says that they were eight hundred. Neither can their precise value be ascertained.

‡ Vespasiano.

stant, and disinterested zeal for letters. When on his death-bed, at the age of seventy-three, in 1437, his only anxiety was to guarantee to the public the free use of his books, which, in fact, formed the first public library in Europe. This was owing to the care of his executors and the munificence of Cosimo di Medici, who renounced his credit of five hundred florins, paid other of Niccoli's debts, and retaining a portion of the codices for himself, placed four hundred of them in S. Marco for the public use, and afterwards increased their number at his own expense.*

* *Vide* Vespasiano, *Vita di N. Niccoli*; Mehus, *Ambr. Camaldulensis Epist.* Prefatio, pages 31, 63, 82; Tiraboschi, Vol. VII., page 125, and fol. Cosimo di Medici had the books placed in St. Mark's in the year 1444 in the grand hall built at his expense by the Architect Michelozzi, which was restored and enlarged after the earthquake of 1433 (P. Marchese, *Scritti varii:* Firenze, Le Monnier, 1855, page 135). Later, that is after the overthrow of Piero di Medici, in 1494, the friars of St. Mark's bought the codices in the private library of the Medici, which were afterwards bought back by Cardinal Giovanni di Medici, who later became Pope Leo X. At his death, Cardinal Giulio di Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII., his executor, carried them back to Florence, and commissioned Michael Angelo with the construction of the building in which they were to be placed, in the cloister of St. Lorenzo. The edifice was completed under Cosimo I., after the death of Clement VII., and thus was founded the famous Laurentian library. According to Padre Marchese, Cosimo di Medici, having paid Niccoli's debts, and added codices of his own to those of his deceased friend in St. Mark's, his sons and grandsons had a certain right over them, and, therefore, when they repurchased from the brethren the private Medici collection, they included among them many of Niccoli's. Upon the history of these collections, various notices are to be found in Vespasiano's *Vita di N. Niccoli* and *Vita di Cosimo di Medici;* Tiraboschi, Vol. VI., page 128, and fol.; *Poggio Opp.*; Basle, 1538, page 270, and fol.; Mehus, *Ambr. Camaldulensis Epist.*, Praefatio, page lxiii., and fol., lxxvi., and fol.; P. Marchese, *Scritti varii*, page 45, and fol. I have already published several documents in my *Storia di Frate G. Savonarola ed i suoi tempi.* A short report—*Delle Biblioteca Mediceo, Laureziana di Firenze*, Firenze, Tofani, 1872—was published by the

A third resort of learned men was the convent of the Angioli, the abode of Ambrogio Traversari, native of Portico, in Romagna, born in 1386, and nominated General Head of the Camaldolesi in 1431. An able and ambitious man, he was a great favourite with the Medici who, together with Niccoli, Marsuppini, Bruni, and not a few others, were frequent visitors to his cell. He had the faculty of preserving the friendships of even the touchiest of the set; he knew how to keep a discussion alive, but he had very little literary originality. He made translations from the Greek; wrote a work entitled *Hodœporicon*, containing various literary notices and descriptions of his travels; but his *Epistolæ* are his principal work, on account of his intimate relations with the scholars of his time, and form an important contribution to the history of that century. All this, however, is not enough to justify the great reputation which he then enjoyed, and which lasted after his death, for Mehus, in the preface and biographical sketch attached to his edition of the *Epistolæ*, tried to concentrate round them the literary history of that century.

It would be an endless task to enumerate all the meeting-places of the learned; but we must not forget

librarian, Cav. Ferrucci, and its author, Signor Anziani, under-librarian. But everything relating to the history of the private Medici collection has been narrated at length and illustrated by new and important documents by Professor E. Piccolomini, in the *Archivio Storico*, Vol. XIX., 1, 2, and 3 Nos. of 1874, and Vol. XX., No. 4, of 1874. This same work has also been published separately, and entitled—*Intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della libreria Medicea privata*, by E. Piccolomini: Firenze, Cellini & Co., 1875.

to mention the house of the Medici, where all and everyone of them found welcome, patronage, and employment. There, too, were to be found all artists and foreigners of any merit. Almost all the richer Florentines of the fifteenth century were patrons and cultivators of letters. Roberto dei Rossi, the Greek scholar, passed a celibate life in his study, and gave lessons to Cosimo dei Medici, Luca degli Albizzi, Alessandro degli Alessandri, Domenico Buoninsegni. The Nestor of these aristocratic scholars was Palla Strozzi—he who aided Niccoli in his reform of the Florentine University—who paid out of his own pocket a large portion of the sum required to tempt Crisolora to come and teach Greek in Florence, and who spent a great deal in obtaining ancient codices from Constantinople. When most iniquitously driven into exile, at the age of sixty-two, by Cosimo di Medici, he found courage to bear up under this misfortune, and the subsequent loss of his wife and all his children, by studying the ancient writers at Padua up to the age of ninety-two years, when he went to his grave.*

And, lastly, it is necessary to mention the University of Florence. In general, the Italian universities had been seats of mediæval and scholastic culture; learning had commenced outside, and not seldom in opposition to them. But it was otherwise in Florence, the *Studio* almost rose and fell with the rise and fall of erudition. It did not come into existence until the December of 1321, dragged on languidly enough, now closed, now re-

* Vespasiano, *Vita di P. Strozzi.*

opened, until 1397, when Crisolora, by his teachings in the Greek tongue, made Florence the centre of Hellenism in Italy. Later, the University again began to languish, but was renovated in 1414 by the efforts of Niccoli and of Strozzi, who, taking advantage of an ancient law, decreeing that none of the teachers should be Florentines, invited the most celebrated men in Greece and Italy; thus forwarding more than ever the union of Latin and Greek culture, and that of Florentine learning with Italian. In 1473, Lorenzo dei Medici transferred the Studio to Pisa; but Florence was allowed to retain a few chairs of literature and philosophy, which were always filled by celebrated men.* This great literary movement, which we have been employed in examining, produced no man of commanding talent after Petrarch and Boccaccio. All was confined to collecting, copying, correcting codices; materials were prepared for a fresh literary advance, which, however, had not yet begun. Italian composition had decayed, and Latin had as yet no original merits; we find grammarians, bibliophiles, and bibliographers in the place of real writers. But by slow degrees a new generation of learned men sprung up, showing a genuine, and, up to that date, unusual originality. This fact was the result of a natural process of things; writers who had at last thoroughly mastered the Latin tongue, began to express themselves

* The decree was signed in 1472—Prezziner, *Storia del Pubblico Studio*, &c.: Florence, 1812, in 2 vols. This work has not much historical value; but notices concerning the Studio are to be found scattered among the writings of the learned men, and one can also consult the work entitled—*Historia Academiæ Pisanæ*, auctore Angelo Fabronio: Pisis, 1791-95, in 3 vols.

with an ease and spontaneity which gave rise to new literary qualities, even to a new literature. Grammatical questions, when examined and discussed by men of the acute intellect and fine taste at that time possessed by Italians, were inevitably transformed into philosophical questions, thus laying the foundation of fresh progress in science.

But extraneous causes were also at work to hasten and provoke so notable a transformation, and foremost among these was the study of Greek. It was the means of bringing into contact, not merely two languages, but two different literatures, philosophies, civilisations. Thus the horizon was suddenly enlarged, and besides the greater originality of Greek thought and language, the mere fact of their great difference from Latin thought and language was of immense importance. The Italian mind found itself constrained to higher effort, to a longer and more difficult mental flight, requiring and developing greater intellectual energy. During the Middle Ages the Greek language had been very little known in Italy, and the knowledge of it possessed by the monks of St. Basilio, in Calabria was much exaggerated by report. Two Calabrians Barlaam and Leonzio Pilato, had picked up the language at Constantinople; and the former of these taught its rudiments to Petrarch, who, notwithstanding his ardent desire to learn it, could never understand the Homer which he kept spread open before him.* The second

* Petrarca: *Lettere Senili*, bk. iii. lett. 6; bk. v. lett. 1; bk. vi. lett. 1, 2.

was Professor in Florence for three years, thanks to Boccaccio, who thus brought about the foundation of the first Greek chair in Italy. But from 1363 to 1396 this instruction, in itself poor enough, failed entirely. Italians who desired to have it were compelled, like Guarino and Filelfo, to seek it at Constantinople. And the first Greek refugees who came among us were of far less use than is commonly supposed; for being ignorant of Italian, having only a smattering of Latin, and not being men of letters, they were quite incapable of satisfying a passion to which, however, their very presence was a lively stimulus. It was the election of Emanuele Crisolora to a professorship in the Studio, in 1396, which really marked the beginning of a new era of Hellenism in Italy. Previously a teacher at Constantinople, he was a true man of letters, he was capable of teaching scientifically, and he numbered among his pupils the first *literati* of Florence. Roberto dei Rossi, Palla Strozzi, Poggio Bracciolini, Giannozzo Manetti, and Carlo Marsuppini immediately came to attend his lessons. Leonardo Bruni, then engaged in legal studies, no sooner heard that it was at last possible to learn Homer's tongue, and drink of the first fountain of knowledge, than he forsook everything in order to become one of the best Hellenists and *literati* of his time.* From that moment, he who was ignorant of Greek was esteemed but half educated in Florence, for that study made rapid strides, and it was likewise greatly aided by the arrival

* Leon. Bruni: *Rerum suo tempore in Italia gestarum, Commentarius*, apud Murat. Script., Tom. XIX. p. 920.

of other refugees, generally of higher cultivation, and who found a better prepared soil.* Another important aid was the Florentine Council of 1439, which, intended to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches, served instead to unite the literary spirit of Rome and Greece. The Pope had need of Italian interpreters to understand the representatives of Greece, and both parties, equally indifferent to religious questions, leapt from theology to philosophy, directly they came together, which was usually more widely cultivated than letters among the Greeks. Giorgio Gemisto Pletone, the most learned of those who came at this time to Italy, and an enthusiastic admirer of Plato, succeeded in inspiring Cosimo dei Medici with the same admiration; hence the origin of the Platonic Academy. An enormous enthusiasm, a prodigious literary activity then began in Florence, and at last we see the appearance of a new literary originality, and the beginning of a revival of philosophy.†

The first scholar to prove himself an original writer was Poggio Bracciolini, born at Terranova, near Arezzo, in 1380. After studying Greek with Crisolora, he went with Pope John XXIII. to the Council of Constance as a member of the Curia, and wearing the ecclesiastical dress, without, however, being in holy orders. This was a common custom among the learned, who—if un-

* Tiraboschi: *Storia della Letteratura Italiana;* Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, etc.; Voigt: *Die Wiederbelebung*, etc.

† *Vide* Voigt, Gibbon, and also my *Storia di G. Savonarola*, Vol. I. chap. iv.

married—could in this manner obtain many advantages reserved for the clergy, of whom, however, they generally spoke much evil. Soon wearying of religious controversies and disputes, Bracciolini set out upon a journey, and in one of his letters gave an admirable description of the Falls of the Rhine and of the Baden springs; indeed, of these latter he gives a picture so vivid that to this day we can recognise its fidelity.* His Latin, though far more correct than that of his predecessors, is full of Italianisms and neologisms; but it has the spontaneousness and vivacity of a living language; instead of a mere reproduction, it is a real and genuine revival. Therefore it is in Poggio and some of his contemporaries that we must look for the flower of the Humanities, not in those who, like Bembo and Casa, gave us an imitation which, if more faithful, is also more mechanical and material. Poggio, throwing aside dictionaries and grammars, feels the need of writing as he speaks; is enthusiastic in the presence of Nature; seeks truth, and laughs at authorities; but still remains a man of learning, and this fact must ever be kept in sight. In the year 1416 he was present at the trial and execution of Jerome of Prague, and described everything in full in one of his best known letters to Bruni. The independence of mind with which this learned member of the Papal Curia dared to admire the heroism of Luther's precursor, and proclaim him worthy

* G. Shepherd: *Vita di Poggio Bracciolini*, translated from the English by T. Tonelli, with notes and additions. Florence: Ricci, 1825, 2 vols. *Vide* Vol. I. p. 65 and fol. the translation of the letter quoted from.

of immortality, is truly remarkable. But what was it that he admired in him? Not the martyr, not the reformer;—on the contrary, he asserts that if Jerome had indeed said anything against the Catholic faith, he well deserved his punishment. What he admired in him was the courage of a Cato and of a Mutius Scævola; he extolled "his clear, sweet, and sonorous voice; the nobility of his gestures, so well adapted either to express indignation or excite compassion; the eloquence and learning with which, at the foot of the pile, he quoted Socrates, Anaxagoras, Plato, and the Fathers." *

Soon we find Poggio leaving Constance altogether, for the purpose of making long journeys. He traversed Switzerland and Germany, hunting through monasteries in search of old manuscripts, of which he was the most favoured discoverer in that century. To him we owe works of Quintilian, Valerius Flaccus, Cicero, Silius Italicus, Ammianust Marcellinus, Lucretius, Tertullian, Plautus, Petronius, etc. When the news of these discoveries reached Florence, the city was wild with joy, and Bruni wrote to him, that above all by the discovery of Quintilian, he had made himself the second father of Roman eloquence. "All the people of Italy," wrote he, "should go forth to meet the great writer whom thou hast delivered from the hands of the barbarians." † Many others then followed his example in searching for manuscripts. It was said that Aurispa had brought from Constantinople no less than two hundred and

* Poggio: *Opera*, Basle edition, pp. 301-305.

† L. Aretini: *Epist.* bk. iv. ep. 5.

thirty-eight codices; and the fable was spread that Guarino's hair turned suddenly white through his having lost in a shipwreck many codices that he was bringing to Italy from the East.* But no one equalled Bracciolini in diligence and good fortune.

In England, however, while with Cardinal Beaufort, he found himself isolated, in the company of wealthy uncultured nobles, who passed the chief part of their life in eating and drinking.† During those dinners, which sometimes lasted four hours, he was obliged to rise from time to time and bathe his eyes with cold water, in order to keep himself awake.‡ Yet the country offered, by its novelty, a vast field of observation to Bracciolini, who had the acuteness to notice that even in those days it was a special characteristic of the English aristocracy readily to admit within its ranks men who had raised themselves from the middle classes.§ But the novelty of the country and the variety of customs and characters, all of which he noticed and which occupied his mind, were not sufficient recompense for the slight account in which the learned were held there, and he, therefore, sighed for his native land.

And in a short time we find him established in Rome as secretary to the Roman Curia during the reign of

* Tiraboschi: *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. VI. p. 118; Rosmini, *Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese*, Brescia, 1805-6.

† *Vide* his letter to Niccoli, dated 29th October 1420, published in the translation of Shepherd's Work, Vol. I. p. 111, note C.

‡ Vespasiano: *Veta di Poggio Bracciolini*, s. 1.

§ Poggii: *Opera*, p. 69.

Martin V. There at last he was in his true element. He used to spend the long winter evenings with his colleagues, in a room of the Cancelleria, which went by the name of *the place of lies* (*il bugiale, sive mendaciorum officina*), because there they amused each other with anecdotes, both true and false, and more or less indecent, in which they ridiculed the Pope, the Cardinals, and even the dogmas of the religion in defence of which they wrote Briefs. In the morning he attended to the slight duties of his office, and composed literary works, among others his dialogues on avarice and hypocrisy—vices which he declared to be peculiar to the clergy—and, therefore, severely scourged. But no serious motive is to be found in these satires; only the same biting and sceptical spirit shown by our comic writers and novelists, who, like Poggio, laughed at the faith which they professed. These latter sought to paint the manners of the day; Poggio and the other men of learning chiefly desired to show the ease with which they could use the Latin tongue on all kinds of subjects, sacred or profane, serious, comic, or obscene. That was all.

In fact Bracciolini, notwithstanding his onslaughts on the corrupt manners of the clergy, led a very intemperate life. And when Cardinal St Angelo reproved him for having children, which was unfitting to an ecclesiastic, and still more for having them by a mistress, which was unfitting to a layman; he replied without at all losing countenance: "I have children, and that is fitting to a layman; I have them by a mistress, and that is an old custom of the clergy." And

farther on in the letter he tells the story of an Abbé who presented a son of his to Martin V., and receiving a reproof, answered, amid the laughter of the Curia, that he had four others also ready and willing to take up arms for His Holiness.*

Coming to Florence with Pope Eugene IV., he was thrown among the learned men gathered together there, and drawn into very violent disputes with the restless Filelfo, who was then teaching in the University. This scholar, who had been to Constantinople and there married a Greek wife, was almost the only man in Italy who could then speak and write the language of Plato and Aristotle. He worried every one by his boundless vanity and restlessness of character; at last he made attacks against the Medici, and was compelled to leave Florence. Then he began to write satires aimed at the learned who had been his friends and colleagues, and Bracciolini replied to him in his *Invettive*. It was a warfare of indecent insults, in which the two scholars showed off their strength in rhetoric and their masterly Latinity. Filelfo had the advantage of writing in verse, and therefore his insults were easier to retain in the memory; but Bracciolini, having greater talent and wit, by writing in prose, was better able to express all that he wished to say. He repulsed the abuse which "Filelfo had vomited from the fetid sewer of his mouth," and attributed his adversary's foulness of language to the education he had received from his mother, "whose trade it was to clean the entrails of animals; it was her

* *Vide* Shepherd's Work, Vol. I., pp. 184-85.

stench therefore which now emanated from her son."* He accused him of having seduced the daughter of his master, in order to marry her and then make a traffic of her honour, and wound up by offering him a crown worthy of so much foulness.† Not content with all this, they even accused each other of vices which modesty forbids us to mention in these days, but of which these learned scholars were accustomed to speak without reserve and almost in joke, after the manner of Greek and Roman writers.

Our minds shrink from dwelling on the frightful moral depravity with which all these things saturated the Italian spirit. And Poggio composed these much-praised invectives of his in a delightful villa, full of statues, busts, and ancient coins of which he made use to gain a closer knowledge of antiquity, thus inaugurating the study of archæology, as he had already done in Rome by describing its monuments and remains. He considered this to be the fit paradise for a chosen spirit, for an encyclopædic man of letters destined to immortality. At the age of fifty-five, in order to marry a young lady of high birth, he abandoned the woman

*"Verum nequaquam mirum videri debet, cum eius mater Arimini dudum in purgandis ventribus, et intestinis sordi deluendis quæstum fecerit, maternæ artis fœtorem redolere. Haesit naribus filii sagacis materni exercitii attractata putredo et continui stercoris fœteris halitus." Poggii, *Opera*, p. 165.

† "At stercorea corona ornabuntur fœtentes crines priapei vati." Poggii, *Opera*, p. 167. It is impossible to give the most obscene fragments of Poggio's *Invettive* and Filelfo's *Satire*. Mons. Nisard in his *Gladiateurs, etc.*, attempted to give several in the appendices to his *Vita del Filelfo e di Poggio*; but he too found it impossible to continue.

with whom he had lived up to that time, and who had made him the father of fourteen children, of whom four survivors, legitimized by him, were left destitute by this marriage. But he remedied this by writing a dialogue: *An seni sit uxor ducenda,* in which he defended his own cause. An elegant Latin composition was all that was needed to solve the hardest problems of existence, and soothe his own conscience. To a man of learning words were of greater value than facts; to be eloquent in the praise of virtue was as good as being virtuous, and the greatest of mankind owed their immortality solely to the eloquence with which their lives had been narrated by first-rate writers. Where would be the fame of Hannibal or Scipio, of Alexander or Alcibiades, without Livy, without Plutarch? He who could write Latin with eloquence, was not only sure of his own immortality, but could bestow it upon others at his own good pleasure.

From Tuscany Poggio returned to Rome, and during the pontificate of Nicholas V., profited by the wide liberty accorded to the learned, to publish attacks on priests and friars and the *Liber Facetiarum,* in which he collected all the satires and indecencies that used to be related in the *bugiale.* In the preface to this book, he plainly stated that his object was to show how the Latin tongue ought and might be made to express everything. In vain the more rigorous blamed this old man of seventy for thus contaminating his white hairs: since Panormita had published his *Hermaphroditus,* the Italian ear was shocked by nothing, and

Poggio tranquilly passed his time in writing obscenities and keeping up literary quarrels. He had one about this time with Trapezunzio, which ended in blows; another with Valla, and this gave rise to a new series of *Invectivæ* on his part, and on his opponent's to an *Antidotus in Poggium.* The question turned on the worth of the Latinity and the grammatical rules asserted in the *Elegantiæ* of Valla, who, possessed of a superior critical faculty, came off victor in the fight. And in this quarrel also the disputants rivalled each other in scandalous indecency. Accused of every vice that was most horrible, Valla gave as good as he got, without much occupying himself with his own defence, and indeed often showing a remarkable amount of cynicism. Thus, when Poggio accused him of having seduced his own sister's maid, he replied merrily that he had wished to prove the falsity of his brother-in-law's assertion, namely, that his chastity did not proceed from virtue.* It would, however, be a great mistake to measure by the violence of these writers' insults the force of their passions. The *Invectivæ* were almost always simple exercises of rhetoric; the two disputants came down into the arena in the spirit of performers about to give a display of their dexterity and nudity. But even if the passions were unreal, there was terrible reality in the moral harm resulting from these miserable shows.

We gladly turn aside from these foul places, for

* "Volui itaque eis ostendere id quod facerem non vitium esse corporis, sed animi virtutem." *Antidotus*, p. 222.

we have as yet by no means fully described the prodigious activity of Poggio Bracciolini. Next to epistles, orations were the compositions most in favour with the learned. They crowded into these all possible reminiscences of antiquity, all possible figures of rhetoric. A good memory was frequently the only faculty necessary to secure certain success—"he had an endless memory, he quoted every one of the ancient writers"—was the eulogium Vespasiano used to make on the most celebrated of these orators, who seemed to have some thesaurus from which to draw inspiration for their own eloquence. Were a general mentioned, instantly a list of great battles was given; a poet, and forth came a torrent of precepts from Horace or Quintilian. The real subject disappeared before the desire to turn everything into an opportunity of gaining greater familiarity with antiquity; style was false, artifice continual, exaggerations innumerable, and all funeral orations became apotheoses. Once Filelfo, wishing to attack one of his persecutors, took the chair and began in Italian: "Who is the cause of so many suspicions? Who is the originator of so many insults? Who is the author of so many outrages? Who and what is this man? Shall I name so great a monster? Shall I designate such a Cerberus? Shall I tell you who he is? Certainly I must tell you, I say it, I will say it, were it at the cost of my life. He is the accursed, the monstrous, the detestable, the abominable. . . . . Ah! Filelfo, hold thy peace, for heaven's sake utter not his name! He who is incapable of controlling

himself, is ill fitted to blame the intolerance and inconstancy of another."* This was what was then considered a model of eloquence; hence Pius II. was right in saying that a skilful orator could only stir hearers of small intelligence.† A Frenchman of good taste, the Cardinal d'Estoutville, when listening to an eulogy on St Thomas of Aquinas, delivered by Valla, could not refrain from exclaiming: "but this man is stark mad!"‡ Yet these orations were then so much in vogue, that they were considered indispensable on all great occasions, whether a proclamation of peace, the presentation of an ambassador, or any other public or private solemnity. Every court, every government, sometimes even wealthy families, had their official orator. And precisely as now-a-days there are few *fêtes* without music, so in those times a Latin discourse in verse or prose was the choicest diversion of every cultured company. Numbers of these discourses were printed, but these were the minority; Italian libraries contain hundreds still inedited. But in all this abundance no examples of real eloquence are to be found, with the exception of a few of the orations of Pius II., whose utterances were not always mere literary exercises, but who often spoke with some definite aim, and did not then pour forth floods of rhetoric.

Poggio Bracciolini was held to be one of the first masters of oratory, and seldom lost an opportunity of

* Rosmini, *Vita di Filelfo*, Vol. I., doc. ix., p. 125.

† Platina, *Vita Pii II.*

‡ Gasparo Veronese quoted by Voigt. Vide *Die Wiederbelebung, etc.*, p. 437.

making an oration, particularly in praise of deceased literary friends. The ease of his style, though often sinking into prolix verbosity, his vivacity, dash and good sense, render him more readable than the others, but never eloquent. The last years of his life were passed in Florence, where, on the death of Carlo Marsuppini (24th April 1453), he was made secretary of the Republic, and wrote his last work, a *History of Florence* from 1350 to 1455. In this work, following the example of Leonardo Bruni, he forsakes the manner of the Florentine chroniclers, to the loss of the graphic power and vivacity of which they had given such splendid examples. There is not a single anecdote or narrative drawn from life, not a trace of a personal knowledge of events in the midst of which the author had really lived and in which he had taken his part. He seems to be narrating deeds of the Greeks and Romans; he never deigns to speak of the internal affairs of the Republic; we hear only of great battles, and listen to long and solemn Latin speeches recited by Florentines always in the Roman dress. In point of fact Poggio's great object was the imitation of Livy's epic narrative, and although this made him lose the spontaneous qualities of the old chroniclers, it at least compelled him to try and link facts together in a literary if not a scientific way. And thus began the transformation of the chronicle into history. He and Bruni were the precursors of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, although in every respect very inferior to them. Of the two, Bruni is the better critic, while Bracciolini has an easier style which,

however, is frequently verbose. Sannazzaro accused the latter of overweening partiality for his own country;* but that consisted chiefly in the tone he assumed in always speaking of Florence as though it were the republic of Rome.

Poggio Bracciolini, although the chief, was not the only representative of this second period of Italian learning; he was one of a numerous band of other scholars, and of these the most celebrated was Leonardo Bruni, born in 1369, at Arezzo, and known therefore as the Aretino. We have already seen how, on the arrival of Crisolora in Florence, he threw aside his legal studies to devote himself entirely to Greek; and so rapid was his progress that he was soon qualified to translate not only the principal historians and orators, but also the philosophers of Greece. He thereby rendered an immense service to literature, for his versions of the classic authors were the first from the original Greek, and were not only written in elegant Latin, but were faithful translations, and appeared at a moment when the need for them was great and universal. His versions of the *Apologia* of Socrates, the *Phaedo*, *Krito*, *Gorgias*, and *Phaedrus* of Plato, and those of the Economical and Political Ethics of Aristotle, were one of the great literary events of the age. On the one hand it was a revelation of the Platonic philosophy, till then almost unknown in Italy; on the other, it was the first appearance of what

* Sannazzaro wrote:

Dum patriam laudat, damnat dum Poggius hostem;
Nec malus est civis, nec bonus historicus.

was called the true Aristotle, unknown in the middle ages. The learned could now admire the eloquence which Petrarch had vainly sought in the travestied and almost barbarous Aristotle of his time; they were no longer compelled to study the Greek schoolman instead of the Greek philosopher.

Thus Bruni gave an immense impulse to philosophy and criticism. His, in fact, was a critical mind, as we see even by his Epistles, in which, for the first time, we find the opinion maintained that Italian was derived from the spoken Latin, which differed from the written tongue, and this opinion he enforced by arguments which show this scholar of the fifteenth century to have been in some respects a true precursor of modern philology.* These qualities are still more noticeable in his historical works, first of which is his *Storia di Firenze*, from its origin down to 1401. Of this we may repeat what we have already said of Bracciolini's history, which is its continuation. Here also the internal conditions of the Republic are neglected to make room for descriptions of great battles, speeches and dissertations. Here, too, local colouring is wanting, and Florentines appear in a Roman dress. Bruni, as we have before remarked, is inferior to Bracciolini in ease of style; but he forestalled his friend in forsaking the track of the chroniclers, and as he did not write of

* This letter is addressed to Flavio Biondo of Forli, and is also to be found in the first number of a work now in course of publication, entitled, *I due primi secoli della Letteratura Italiana*, by A. Bartoli: Milan, Vallardi. The author, like other men of learning, holds it in due consideration.

contemporary events, he had freer scope for the display of his critical faculty. In fact it does Aretino the greatest honour that he should have been the first who, rejecting at once all the fables current on the origin of Florence, sought out in the classical writers the primitive history of the Etruscans, and applied the same critical sagacity to that of the Middle Ages. * Elsewhere we shall have occasion to return to these historical works; for the present it is enough to remark that criticism gradually became one of the principal occupations of this century, which was so eagerly demolishing the past.

Leonardo Aretino was a man of very great personal weight in Florence, where he filled many important offices, among others, during a long period, that of secretary to the Republic.† Dying in 1444, he was succeeded by Carlo Marsuppini, of Arezzo, called therefore Carlo Aretino. This latter wrote little, and nothing of any importance; he was, however, a renowned teacher, the fortunate rival of Filelfo in the Florentine Studio, and enjoyed great fame, chiefly owing to the strength of his memory, which enabled him to make a distinguished figure in public discourses. His first lecture was loudly applauded, because, as Vespasian

* An elegant edition of this History, with Donato Accinoli's translation, was published at Florence, 1856-60, 3 vols. 8vo. Signor Cirillo Monzani published an accurate *Discorso* on Bruni in the *Archivio Storico*, new series, Vol. V., part 1, pages 29-59; part 2, pages 3-34. See also the remarks upon Bracciolini's and Bruni's histories made by Gervinus in his work, *Florentinische Historiographise*, published in the vol. entitled, *Historische Schriften*: Frankfurt, à M., 1833.

† The first time in 1410 for a single year; the second from 1427 to 1444.

tells us, "the Greeks and Latins had no writer left unquoted by Messer Carlo that morning."* He displayed a great contempt for Christianity, and a vast admiration for the Pagan religion.† To him, as to Bruni, solemn funeral honours were decreed by the Republic. Both bore the poet's laurels on their bier; both repose in Santa Croce, the one opposite the other, beneath monuments equally elegant, with inscriptions equally pompous, despite the great distance between the talent of the one and the other. Marsuppini's funeral eulogy was read by one of his pupils, Matteo Palmieri; that of Bruni, on the other hand, was read by another first-rate literary man, and was a solemn event. It was in the centre of the public square, standing beside the bier on which lay Bruni's body, with his volume of *Storia Fiorentina* on his breast, that Giannozzo Manetti, by many esteemed the first of living *literati*, pronounced his oration in the presence of the chief magistrates of the Republic.

Yet no one can now read this oration without experiencing great amazement that so *barocco* a composition should have aroused such universal applause in an age so cultured and so devoted to the classics. Manetti begins by declaring that had it been possible for the immortal muses (*immortales Musæ, divinæque Camœnæ*), to make a Latin discourse and weep in public, they would hardly have left the task to him on so

* Vespasiano, *Vita di Carlo d'Arezzo.*

† Vespasiano, *Vita di Carlo d'Arezzo;* Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana.*

solemn an occasion. Then narrating Bruni's life, he seizes the occasion of his nomination as secretary to the Republic, to run through the history of Florence. He touches on his works and then branches off into a dissertation on Greek and Latin authors, and particularly on Cicero and Livy, placing Bruni above both, for the important reason that the former not only translated from the Greek like the one, but also wrote history like the other, thus uniting in himself the merits of both. Then, the moment having arrived for placing the wreath on the head of his deceased friend, he speaks of the antiquity of this usage, and of the various wreaths, *civica, muralis, obsidionalis, castrensis, navalis*, and continues his descriptions through five large and closely written pages. He asserts that Bruni had earned the wreath by his true poetic gifts, and then digresses into a series of empty phrases, in explanation of the signification of the word poet, and the nature of poetry; winding up with a pompous apostrophe, and crowning "the happy and immortal slumber of the marvellous star of the Latins." *

Manetti was born at Florence in 1396, and at the age of twenty-five, on his father's death, left his counter to give himself up to study with such exceeding ardour, that he only allowed himself five hours' sleep. His house had a door opening into the garden of Santo Spirito, where he used to study, and for nine years he never crossed the Arno into the centre of the town.†

* *Vide* this oration in the preface to Bruni's *Epistole.*

† Vespasiano, *Vita di G. Manetti*, sec. ii.

He acquired Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; wrote with great ease, and had an "eternal, immortal" memory, according to Vespasiano's usual phrase. But his chief excellence lay in his moral character. A practised man of business, religious, steadfast, and most honest, the principal effect of his studies was to give him a lofty ideal of life, to which he remained faithful in the many offices with which he was entrusted. Vicar and captain of the Republic in many cities distracted by hostile factions, he succeeded in showing himself a severe judge, and imposing heavy taxes, without even being accused of partiality. He refused to accept the customary donations, giving liberally from his own purse to all who were in need, and establishing peace and concord wherever he went. He passed his leisure hours in writing lives of Socrates and Seneca, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, and the history of the cities which he successively inhabited. As a learned man he chiefly shone by his orations, delivered in the various ambassadorial missions on which he was sent precisely on account of his celebrity as an orator. In Rome, Naples, Genoa, and Venice, he was received with the honours of royalty; and so high was his reputation, that by means of a Latin letter, he succeeded in regaining from the Condottiere Piccinini eight horses that had been stolen by some soldiers of his band. Being sent to congratulate Nicholas V. on his election, in the name of the republic of Florence, people crowded from the neighbouring cities to hear him, and the Pope listened to him with such absorbed attention, that a

prelate beside him nudged his elbow several times thinking that his Holiness had fallen asleep. "When the oration was over, everybody shook hands with the Florentines as though Pisa and its territory were won,"* and the Venetian Cardinals wrote home to their government that they ought to send an orator equal to Manetti for the sake of the dignity of the State. At Naples King Alfonso sat like a statue on his throne all the time Manetti was speaking. Yet he was a speaker of no originality. His orations—of a false and inflated style—are mere medleys of facts, collections of Latin phrases, which was exactly what pleased best in those days, and gave free scope for the display of his vast reading, powerful memory, and prodigious facility for stringing together sonorous periods. He was the author of many histories and biographies, which had neither the vivacity of the old chroniclers, nor even the merits of Aretino and Bracciolini. His treatises on philosophy are empty dissertations; his numerous translations from the Greek and Latin are inferior to those of his predecessor Aretino. His versions of the Psalter from the Hebrew and of the New Testament from the Greek prove his dissatisfaction with the Vulgate, but do not support the theory of those who tried to attribute to him a religious daring of which he was incapable. The last years of his life were embittered by the envy which drove him from Florence; but he found protection at Rome and Naples, and in the latter city, where he received a pension from Alfonso of Aragon, he died October 26, 1459.

* Vespasiano, *Vita di G. Manetti*, sec. xv.

Although Manetti's great reputation has not survived, he yet merits an important place in the history of the fifteenth century, precisely because his life proves that no profession or age is sufficiently corrupt to prevent a man from preserving true nobility of mind. The same Pagan learning which left so great moral ruin behind it in Italy was used by him for the elevation of his whole nature. Indeed it is plainly an error, though a very general one, to condemn in one sweeping sentence the character of all the learned men. We have already found ourselves forced to admire Coluccio Salutati and Palla Strozzi; many other worthy characters are to be found among the less known men. This is sufficiently proved by the biographies of Vespasiano whose excessive ingenuousness may excite our blame, but can leave no doubt of the sincerity of his admiration for virtue. He tells us of Messer Zembrino da Pistoia, who taught "not only letters, but morals," and abandoning every other employment to devote himself to philosophy, "lived a frugal and temperate life, giving all he had to the poor, and contenting himself with hermit's fare." Also he was of "thoroughly sincere mind, generous, without fraud or malice, as all men ought to be." Speaking of Maestro Paolo, a Florentine, learned in Greek, Latin, the seven liberal arts, and also given to astronomy, he adds, that he never held intercourse with woman; slept in his clothes upon a board beside his writing table; lived on vegetables and fruit; "was devoted to virtue, and had placed therein his every hope. . . . When not at study,

he would go and take care of some friend."* All this notwithstanding, it cannot be denied that the greater number of these *eruditi* were men of no moral character, although ardently devoted to learning. The continued exercise of the intelligence on questions that were frequently of mere form; the wandering life of courtiers compelled to gain their bread by the sale of eulogiums; the perpetual rivalries; the absence of all spirit of brotherhood or caste in the exercise of their common work or office, and their moral destructiveness did not help to ennoble their characters. If, too, it be added, that all this was going on at a moment in which liberty was already extinguished, society decayed, religion scandalously profaned by the Popes; it will be easily understood what profound moral corruption must have been rife in Italy, when the learned were the expositors of virtue, the apportioners of glory, the representatives of public opinion. But still we must not refuse to acknowledge the handful of righteous men who saved themselves in the general wreck. If we do not impartially take into account all the elements of culture and of the diverse natures of men, we stand in danger of never being able to understand how the Italian spirit then contrived, amid so many dangers, to find sufficient strength in itself to promote an extraordinary intellectual advance, and avoid the total moral destruction, to which perhaps another nation might have succumbed under similar conditions.

* See in Vespasiano the two *Vite di Zembrino Pistolese e di Maestro Pagolo.*

3. LEARNED MEN IN ROME.

After Florence, Rome is certainly the city of highest standing in letters. From the days of Petrarch, the Popes began to feel the need of having their Briefs written by men of learning. And during the Pontificate of Martin, the learned members of the Curia already asserted the right of taking precedence at all public ceremonies over the consistorial advocates, of whom they spoke with much contempt.* P. Bracciolini was then the principal personage among them, and with him were others of lesser fame, such as Antonio Lusco, a writer of rhymed epistles and epigrams, who had extracted from Cicero's orations the rules of rhetoric, and composed a formulary for transacting the business of the Curia in classical language.† But while in Florence men of learning enjoyed an important social standing and great independence, in Rome they merely formed a small clique, and were subordinate *employés* who, though generally well remunerated, could only aspire to the condition of favoured courtiers. Still they daily increased in number, obtaining posts in the *Abbreviatura*, where there were as many as a hundred writers of Briefs, or in the Pope's private secretary's office, where the clerical dress had to be assumed without the obligation of taking orders. The post of *Abbreviatore* or Brief writer was a permanent one; that of secretary

* Voigt: *Die Wiederbelebung*, etc., p. 279, note 3.

† "Scripsit item exempla quædam et veluti formulas, quibus Romana Curia in scribendo uteretur, quæ etiam ab eruditissimis viris in usum recepta sunt."—Facius, *De Viris illustribus*, p. 3.

generally lasted only for the Pope's lifetime, but besides many perquisites, it held out hopes of possible favour and promotion: thus both these offices fetched a high price (everything could be bought in Rome), but the first was the more sought after and the dearer of the two.*

The golden age for men of letters in Rome was the reign of Nicholas V., who, had it been possible, would have collected, within the walls of the eternal city, all the manuscripts in the world, all the men of learning and all the monuments of Florence. The savings he made, and the sums received at the jubilee in 1450, gave him the means to set to work upon his project. The Curia and the Segreteria were quickly filled with learned men, whom the Pope, who knew little or no Greek, employed in making translations, for which he paid them largely. Valla was entrusted with the translation of Thucydides, and on its completion received five hundred crowns and a commission for the translation of Herodotus; Bracciolini was charged with that of Diodorus Siculus; Guarino Veronese, who was at Ferrara, with that of Strabo and the promise of five hundred crowns for each part of the work: others received other commissions. But Nicholas V. could find no one able to undertake a translation of Homer into Latin verse, although he had sought everywhere, and made most generous offers to Filelfo.

Theodore Gaza, George Trapezunzio, Bessarion, and

* Voigt: *Enea Silvio di Piccolomini, als Pabst Pius der Zweite*, Vol. III., p. 548 fol.

many other Greek exiles, also found their way to Rome, many of them receiving similar offices and similar commissions. The majority of them, however, were restless adventurers who had changed their religion in the hope of gain. Bessarion, one of the converts, was certainly a man of weight, learned, and a better Latin scholar than most of his compatriots; he was made a Cardinal, was wealthy, and a diligent collector of manuscripts.* He posed as a Mæcenas, and Nicholas V. gave him the post of Legate at Bologne, probably in order not to have him as almost his own rival in Rome.

All this great company of translators and refugees, gathered together at the Pope's expense, may be called a medley of heterogeneous elements. They were certainly useful for the diffusion of the results of the labour begun in Florence, but they were incapable of any really original work; they doubtless produced many useful translations, but we may observe that whereas those of Bruni, at Florence, had opened a new road to study, and were made by a man who had undertaken them of his own free choice, those purchased by Nicholas V. were, on the contrary, commissioned works, often executed by learned men, like Poggio and Valla, whose principal merit certainly did not consist in knowledge of Greek, or by Greek refugees who knew very little Latin. The most notable productions of this Roman company of scholars were works like the *Facezie* and the *Invettive* of Bracciolini or the

* His library, in thirty cases, containing six hundred volumes, was left to Venice, and formed the first nucleus of the Library of St. Mark. Vespasiano: *Vita del Card. Niceno;* Voigt: *Die Wiederbelebung*, etc.; Tiraboschi: *Storia della Letteratura Italiana.*

Antidoto of Valla, in which, as we have seen, they hurled vile insults at each other's heads. The Pope might easily have imposed a check on this unedifying spectacle, but, on the contrary, he seemed to take pleasure in it. But it is necessary to observe that, under his pontificate, the learned men whom he protected also published works on serious subjects and of high importance; these, however, were either not written in Rome, or were written, as we shall see, without his encouragement.

It was natural that one who had formed so great a workshop of translators should also found a great library. And, in fact, although before him Martin V. had already begun to collect manuscripts, and after him Sixtus IV. opened to the public the famous Vatican library, its true founder, as we have elsewhere remarked, was Nicholas V. Enoch of Ascoli went all over the world ransacking monasteries for manuscripts, furnished with Briefs authorising him to transcribe or buy them.* Giovanni Tortello, author of a manual of orthography for copyists,† was the librarian of this Pope, who, according to Vespasiano, collected five thousand volumes, had them sumptuously bound, and spent for them forty thousand crowns.‡ He also began the restoration of

* Tortellii: *Commentariorum grammaticorum de Ortographia dictionum e Graecis tractarum Opus.* Vicentiæ, 1479.

† Vespasiano: *Vite di Enoche d' Ascoli, di Niccolo V., di Giovanni Tortello.*

‡ So he says in his *Vita di Niccolo V.*; in that of *Tortello*, s. 1. he says instead: "Aveva fatto inventario di tutti i libri che aveva in quella libreria, e fu mirabile cosa la quantità ch 'egli diceva avere, ch 'erano da volumi novemila." Others give other numbers; it is difficult to ascertain the exact number. Voigt: *Die Wiederbelebung*, etc., p. 364.

the streets, bridges, and walls of Rome; he laid the foundations of a new Vatican; he fortified the Capitol and the castle of St. Angelo; restored or rebuilt from the foundations a great many churches in Rome, Viterbo, Assisi, &c., and constructed new fortresses in many cities of the State. In short, under Alberti's advice, and with the help of Bernardo and Antonio Rosselli, Nicholas V. was enabled to transform Rome into a great monumental city, thus rivalling not only the Medici, but even the greatest of the ancient emperors.* From all this it is easy to understand how, without having any special talent, Nicholas has succeeded in sending his name down to posterity. It must also be added that his reign was made illustrious by the presence of three men of singular ability, two of whom were in his employ. And although, as we have already noticed, their principal works were either written away from Rome, or without exciting any attention on the part of the Pope; yet they indirectly bestowed upon him an honour that he had not deserved. The first of the learned trio was Lorenzo Valla, whom we have seen among the Papal secretaries and translators, but who had previously led a very adventurous life. Of a Piacenza family, but born in Rome (1406), he boasted of his Roman birth. Up to the age of twenty-four he remained in Rome, where he was the pupil of Leonardo

* Vespasiano: *Vita di Niccolo V.* G. Manetti, in his *Vita Nicolai V.*, gives minute details of this Pope's designs. See too Voigt: *Die Wiederbelebung*, etc.; Gregorovius and Reumont in their histories of Rome.

Bruni, and also, it would seem, of Giovanni Aurispa.* He then went as professor to Pavia, where his restlessness of character and originality of mind soon made him conspicuous. In that great centre of legal studies, he fiercely attacked the doctrine of the celebrated Bartolo, on account of his barbarous and scholastic style. How, said he, could Bartolo, who was ignorant of the classic language of antiquity, in which Roman jurisprudence was and ought still to be written, and was even ignorant of history, either understand the real significance of Roman law, or properly comment upon it. This audacity was considered rank heresy, and made so much noise among the law students, that poor Valla had to fly from Pavia and go to teach in other cities.†

Yet, it was amid these agitations that he brought out his first work, *De voluptate et vero bono*,‡ in which we find manifestations of original thought, and perceive that learning had already given birth to the new spirit of the Renaissance. Comparing the doctrines of the Stoics with those of the Epicureans, Valla exalts the triumph of the senses, and protests against all mor-

* The former was then a member of the Curia; but of the latter, who is supposed to have instructed Valla in Greek, it is not certain that he came to Rome before 1440. It is difficult, therefore, to determine the dates. *Vide* Tiraboschi: *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. VI. p. 1029 and fol.

† Poggio and Fazio even accuse him of having given a false bond, and attribute to that his flight. They were, however, his enemies, and not, therefore, credible witnesses against him.

‡ It is divided into three parts. Vide the edition of Valla's *Opere*, published at Basle, 1543.

tification of the flesh. Life's objects, he says frankly, are pleasure and happiness, and these we ought to pursue according to nature's command. Virtue itself, which is derived from the will, not from the intellect, is a means for attaining beatitude, namely, true happiness, which is ever incomplete on this earth. It is impossible to explain all things by reason; the dogmas of religion often remain a mystery, and philosophy only seeks, as far as may be, to expound them rationally; it is not even possible to conciliate free will with divine prescience. Science is founded on reason,—which is in harmony with the reality of things, on nature,—which is God. Truth manifests itself in a true, precise, simple form; logic and rhetoric are almost one and the same thing; a confused and incorrect style is a sign of badly understood truths, of a false or incomplete science.—And for these reasons Valla fiercely attacked scholastic philosophy, Aristotle, and Boetius, continually appealing from authority to the healthy use of reason, to reality, to nature, which he exalted in a thousand ways. This need of reality, this redemption of the senses, and of nature, forms the new spirit which animates the whole book, constitutes the special characteristic of Valla's writings, is, in short, the actual spirit of the Renaissance of which he was the incarnation. There is here no question of a new system of philosophy; but one sees the triumph of nature and of good sense, and the independence of reason presents itself to us as a logical consequence of the revival of antiquity.

This work would have been much more successful if

Valla, with his restless, quarrelsome spirit, and frequent love of paradox, had not allowed himself to be too much carried away by his own pen. In taking up the defence of the senses, he declares that virginity is in opposition to nature, and makes Panormita declare, that if nature's laws are to be respected, courtesans are of more use than nuns to the human race. In expounding and defending the Epicurean doctrines against the Stoics, in condemning and despising everything which implies contempt of the world, he gives way to many expressions contrary to the spirit and the letter of Catholic doctrines. And while protesting his intention of respecting the authority of the Church, his attacks against the clergy were exceedingly violent, and far more formidable than those of Poggio and other learned men. Sarcasm was their principal weapon; that of Valla criticism, which had a far deadlier effect. Therefore he had many bitter enemies, and was soon accused of being a heretic, an epicurean, and a blasphemer of everything that was sacred. Nor was his assertion that for him divine beatitude consisted in true pleasure, true happiness, considered a valid defence, for the most insolent and daring phrases in his own work were cast in his teeth, and the most immoral actions of his life—which were certainly open to attack—were brought up against him.

After teaching in various cities, Valla is found at the court of Alfonso of Aragon, between the years 1435 and 1442, was appointed his secretary in 1437, and accompanied him in the military enterprises which afterwards

established that prince on the Neapolitan throne.* In '43 he was in Rome, but had to fly that city, and once more take refuge in Naples, because of the persecution which threatened him on account of his as then unpublished work, *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione.*† Valla maintained that the donation of Constantine was never made, could not be made, and that the original of the pretended document had never been seen. Then by a critical examination of the terms of the document, he proved its falsity. After this he fiercely attacked the simony of the clergy, openly declaring that the Pope had no right to govern either the world or Rome; that the temporal power had ruined the Church, and deprived the Roman people of liberty. He even incited them to rise against the tyranny of Eugene IV., and against all Popes, who from shepherds had become robbers and wolves. "Were even the donation true," he said, in conclusion, "it would be null and void, for Constantine could have no power to make it, and in any case the crimes of the Papacy would have already annulled it." He hoped to live long enough to see the popes constrained to be mere pastors, with only spiritual power. It is true that already during the Council of Basle, Cusano and Piccolomini had maintained the falsity of the donation by means of arguments

* He says of this period:—"Tot praelia vidi, in quibus de salute quoque mea agebatur." *Opera*, Basle edition, 1543, page 273. The learned men, however, were fond of boasting of the perils they encountered, whenever they accompanied a prince on any warlike expedition.

† See his *Opera*.

which are also found in Valla.* But to him we owe the thorough demolition of the false document, accomplished by pungent criticism, and with all the impetus of his Ciceronian eloquence. Besides, he did not confine himself to a literary and theoretical examination, but sought to totally overthrow the temporal power, by threatening to excite the population to revolt against the reigning pontiff. It was no longer a matter of a simple theological or historical dispute, but this was the first time that an already celebrated scholar, after having exhausted the critical view of the case, rendered it popular, and gave it a practical application.†

At that time Alfonso of Aragon was at war with Eugene IV., and Valla, in taking up the cause of his protector, was able to give full vent to his eloquence. Attacked by priests and friars, he, safe in his vantage ground, returned to the charge in other writings. In these he maintained that the letter of Abgarus to Jesus Christ, published by Eusebius, was false; that it was false that the Creed had been composed by the apostles, that in reality it was the work of the Nicene Council. And before this he had already discovered many errors in the Vulgate, and collected them in a book of annotations, which Erasmus of Rotterdam afterwards republished with an eulogistic

* Voigt, *Enea Silvio di Piccolomini, als Pabst Pius der Zweite*, Vol. II., page 313; *Die Wiederbelebung*, &c., page 224. See also an article by Professor Ferri on Cusano in the *Nuova Antologia*, year 7, Vol. XX., May 1872, page 109, and fol.

† *Lorenzo Valla, ein Vortrag*, von Z. Vahlen. Berlin, F. Vahlen, 1870, page 26, and fol.

letter of defence.* These writings and these disputes procured him a summons before the Inquisition in Naples, but he, secure of the king's support, defended himself partly by satires, and partly by declaring that he respected the dogmas of the Church, which had nothing to do with history, philosophy, or philology. As to the donation of Constantine, nothing was said about it, in order not to re-open so thorny a question.

Freed from this danger, he continued his lessons at the university, and prosecuted literary disputes with Bartolommeo Fazio and Antonio Panormita, against whom he wrote four books of invectives.† But besides these works he published others, historical, philosophical, and philological, always dictated by the same critical and independent spirit, and of these the *Elegantiæ* and the *Dialectica* are the most noteworthy. The first‡ speedily achieved great popularity, for in its pages Valla displayed his mastery of classical Latin which he wrote with as much elegance as vigour. He also showed a—for those times—very profound knowledge of grammatical theory, and, what is more surprising, slipped insensibly from philological to philosophical questions. Language, he said, was formed in accordance with the laws of thought, and for this

* *In Novum Testamentum e diversorum utriusque linguæ codicum collatione annotationes*, &c., in Valla's *Opera*.

† *In Bartholomeum Facium ligurem, Invectivarum sive Recriminationum, libri IV.* The cause of this dispute was a criticism by Fazio on Valla's Life of the Father of King Alfonso.—L. Vallae, *Historiarum Ferdinandi regis Aragonia, libri III.* Parisiis per Robertum Stephanum. In replying to Fazio, Valla also attached Panormita.

‡ *Elegantiarum, libri VI.*, in Valla's *Opere*.

reason grammar and rhetoric were based upon dialectics of which they are the complement and the application. Erasmus also occupied himself with this work, and prepared and published an abbreviation of it.* In this as well as in the *De Voluptate et Vero Bono*, we see all the author's originality and the movement of learning towards criticism and philosophy. His *Dialectica*, an exclusively philosophical work, is of very inferior merit; but this too strikes the same chord, namely, that the true study of thought is to be obtained by the study of language.†

Amid so many battles and so much literary activity, enjoying the protection of a magnificent monarch like Alfonso, and resident in a city that had always shown a singular aptitude for philosophical studies, Valla might have been content. Yet he always yearned towards Rome, for that was the great literary centre, and his present position was far from secure. The king might be

* *Paraphrasis, seu potius Epitome in Elegantiarum libros Laur. Vallae.* Parisiis, 1548.—*Paraphrasis luculenta et brevis in Elegantias Vallae.* Venetiis, 1535.

† Ritter, *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie*, part 1, p. 252, notes in fact the superiority attributed by Valla to *Rhetoric* over *Dialectics:* "Noch viel reicher is die Redekunst, welche ein unerschöpfliches Gedächtniss, Kenntniss der Sachen und der Menschen voraussetz, alle Arten der Schlüsse gebraucht, nicht allein in ihrer einfachen Natur, wie sie die Dialektik lehrt, sondern in den mannigfaltigsten Anwendungen auf die verschiedensten Verhältnisse der öffentlichen Geschäfte nach der Lage der Sachen, nach der Verschiedenheit der Hörenden abgeändert. Dieser reichen Wissenschaft solle die philosophische Dialektik dienen (*Dial.*, diop. 11, praefatio). Das meint Valla, wenn er die Philosophie unter der Oberbefehl der Rede stellen will." This is the idea he expounds in the *Dialettica*, but in the *Eleganze* he goes still farther, and seeks to discover philosophy and logic in language.

reconciled with the Pope, might be succeeded by his son, and all things be suddenly changed. In fact, before long the Aragonese were once more in agreement with the Holy See, and Valla had to take care of himself. With the ease that was a speciality of the learned men, he then decided to retract all the perilous doctrines which he had hitherto maintained, especially those touching the donation of Constantine, which, in the judgment of his adversaries, were all the more dangerous, the less they were talked of. He began by writing letters to several Cardinals, stating that he had been moved by no hatred for the Papacy, but by his love of truth, religion, glory. If his work was of man, it would fall of itself, if of God, no one could overthrow it. Furthermore—and this was the most important point—if it were true that with a pamphlet he had wrought great harm to the Church, they ought to recognise that he was able to work it as much good. But all this did not suffice to pacify Eugene IV., and Valla, who went to Rome in 1445, soon returned to Naples, whence he wrote an apology addressed to the Pope, to whom he promised a complete retractation.* In this he repelled the accusations of heresy, brought against him by the malice of his enemies, and concluded saying: "If I sinned not, restore my good fame to its pristine purity; if I sinned, pardon me."

* "Ut si quid retractatione opus est, et quasi ablutione, en tibi me nudum offero." *Ad Eugenium IV., Pont. Apologia: Vallae Opp.* The letters to Cardinals Scarampo and Landriani are to be found in the *Epistolæ Regum et Principum*, Argentinæ per Lazar. Zetzenerum A 1595, pp. 336 and 341.

But not even this submission obtained the wished-for result. Only on the election of Nicholas V. (1447), Valla was immediately sent for and employed in making translations from the Greek, of which he had no great knowledge. There in Rome, he spent his days amid lessons, translations, and literary quarrels with Trapezunzio and Poggio, without at all concerning himself with religious questions. He was secretary to the Curia and even Canon of St John Lateran, which was afterwards the burial place of this pretended religious innovator, who had been a man of little principle, of immoral habits, and of very great literary, critical, and philosophical talent. He ceased to live on the 1st August 1457.*

At this time there was another scholar of great ability in Rome, and this was Flavio Biondo, or Biondo Flavio, as some call him; born at Forlì in 1388; he was secretary to Eugene IV., Nicholas V., Calixtus III., and Pius II., was used by all and neglected by all to such an extent that from time to time he attempted to better his fortune elsewhere. Yet he had served Eugene IV. through good and evil fortune with unshaken fidelity, and had dedicated some of his principal works to him; he had done the same to Nicholas V., the Mæcenas of all

* Tiraboschi, S. L. T., Vol. VI., p. 1029 and fol.; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung*, etc., p. 294 and fol.; Voigt, *Pius II., und seine Zeit*, Vol. I., p. 237; Zumpt, *Leben und Verdienste des L. Valla*, in Vol. IV. of *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, von A. Schmidt; Ritter, *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie*, part 1. Invernizzi, *Il Risorgimento* (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), chap. iii.; this work forms part of the *Storia d'Italia* in course of publication at Milan: Vallardi & Co.

learned men, and to Pius II. who made use of his works, and even epitomized one of them, to give it the elegance of style that it lacked. This in fact was Biondo's great defect, and which helped to keep him almost unknown amongst the Humanists, many of whom were not worthy of comparison with him. He did not know Greek, was not an elegant Latinist, was neither a flatterer, nor a writer of invectives; he had but one dispute with Bruni, and that was wholly literary and scientific, on the origin of the Italian language, and was free from personalities. His epistles contain neither *bon môts* nor elegant phrases, therefore they were never collected, and no one wrote his biography. Yet his was one of the purest characters and noblest minds of that century, and his works have a flavour of historic criticism which cannot be found among his contemporaries.

Biondo's first work, dedicated to Eugene IV., and entitled *Roma Instaurata*, is a description of Pagan and Christian Rome and its monuments. It is the first serious attempt we have of a complete topography of the eternal city; the author opens the way towards a scientific restoration of the monuments, and makes use of the classic authors with singular critical power. And what is still more worthy of notice, antiquity by no means makes him forgetful of Christian times: "I am not," he says, "of those who forget the Rome of St Peter for the Rome of the Consuls." And thus his learning had a wider and deeper base, for it comprised the Middle Ages and his

own time. His second work was his *Italia Illustrata*, written at the instance of Alfonso of Aragon, and dedicated to Nicholas V. In this he gave a description of ancient Italy, determining its different regions, enumerating its principal cities, and giving investigations regarding their monuments, their ancient and modern history, and their celebrated men. His third work, dedicated to Pius II., was *Roma Triumphans*, in which he undertook to examine the constitution, customs, and religion of the ancient Romans, thus making the first manual of antiquity. Finally, not to mention his book *De origine et gestis Venetorum;* he wrote a history of the decline of the Roman Empire, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum, etc.*, a work of vast bulk, of which, however, we have only the three first decades and the beginning of the fourth. The author's intention was to bring it down to his own times; but even in its unfinished state, it is the first universal history of the Middle Ages worthy of the name. And Biondo has an admirable method of seeking out the fountain heads and distinguishing contemporaneous from posterior or anterior narrators, by carefully comparing them with each other. With this work it was that history first began to be a science, and historic criticism came into existence. We shall have occasion to refer to it again, when the moment comes for observing that Machiavelli made great use of it in the famous first book of his *Istorie*, sometimes translating literally from it. And even Pius II. recognized the great importance of the work, by making a compendium of it in order to give it a classic

mould. He also made frequent use of other of Biondo's works, while allowing the author to pass his last days in poverty and almost in obscurity (1463).*

The third learned man whom it is requisite to mention is Enea Silvio dei Piccolomini, the same who succeeded Nicholas V. as Pius II. (1458-64). We have already had a glimpse of him at the Council of Basle, where he supported the election of the Anti-Pope Felix V., to whom he was secretary; later we saw him in the Imperial Chancery, where he remained many years and changed his opinions, becoming a supporter of the Papal authority in opposition to the ideas of the Council, which he had previously upheld. In his youth he had given free play to his natural frivolity and versatility of talent, and had written verses, comedies, coarse tales, and letters, in which he spoke with sarcastic cynicism of the dissolute life that he led. As a scholar he was wanting in knowledge of Greek and the Grecian authors, of whom he had only read a few of the translations received from Italy; of the Latin authors, however, especially Cicero, he had made very prolonged study; he aimed at ease and simplicity of style, and Poggio Bracciolini was his *beau ideal.* His writings had a spontaneous dash, chiefly resulting from the practical nature of his intellect, from his knowledge of mankind, and of

* Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung*, etc.; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.*, Vol. VII., p. 577 (2d edition); Tiraboschi S. L. T., Vol. VI., p. 635 and fol. The *Roma Instaurata* and *Italia Illustrata* were printed for the first time *Romæ in domo nob*, v. *Johannis de Lignamine*, 1474, and reprinted with all Biondo's other works at Basle in 1559. They were afterwards translated into Italian.

the world. He differed from all the other learned men in this, that in his writings he always tried to go straight to the practical and real point, without indulging in too many classic reminiscences. Even in his obscene works, instead of trying effects of style and citing examples from the ancients, he narrated real facts from his own life or that of his friends. His *Orations in Council* were certainly not specimens of great eloquence, but they had a clear intention, and sought to reach a determined end. In the *Epistole* he either treated of affairs or described the places he lived in; and thus we often find the poor secretary of the Imperial Chancery in despair at being among Germans who drink beer from morning to night. The students (as now) swallowed enormous quantities of it; a father awakened his children in the night in order to make them drink wine.

But meanwhile Piccolomini was certainly the first to propagate Italian humanism in Germany, and for many years his letters formed the connecting link between the two countries, and hence have much historical importance. Piccolomini had neither the weight of an independent thinker, the erudition of a true Humanist, nor the patience of the collector; but in him the vivacity, readiness, and spontaneity of the man of letters, who is at the same time a man of the world, reached so high a pitch that he may justly be called an original writer. He was no philosopher; indeed, in this respect he was so imbued with antiquity as to wish to confound the Greek and Roman philosophy with the

Christian. In such matters he was out of his real element; this is plainly seen when he turns to subjects relating to philosophy, but of more practical tendency, as, for instance, education. Then he makes few quotations from Aristotle and Plato, but notes instead observations drawn from his own experience. He never succeeded in composing any really scientific treatises, and their most attractive parts are always his descriptions of scenery and manners. Thus when writing *De curialium miseriis*,* the best part of his book is that in which he relates the unhappy life which he himself led with the subordinates of the Imperial Chancery; their travels, their life in common, the badness of the inns, the vile cookery, the absence of quiet.† In other works of his we find descriptions of the countries through which he had travelled, of natural scenery, customs, institutions. These things in short are those that he saw most clearly and describes most graphically to us. Although no traveller in search of unknown regions, nature is always fresh to him, always admirable; he can always hear its voice. Even after he was Pope, and was old and infirm, he would have himself carried over the hills and valleys to Tivoli, Albano, and Tuscolo, to enjoy the beauty of the scenery, which he so graphically describes in his *Commentarii* that to this day they would make a good guide for visitors to those places. The character and the variety of the vegetation, the mountain and river systems, the philo-

* It is a treatise, in the form of a letter, to Giovanni Aich, dated 30th November 1444.

† *Opera.* Basle: Hupper, 1551, Vol. I., pp. 91-93.

logical derivation of their names, the different local customs; nothing escapes him; everything is harmoniously arranged. He also wrote descriptions of Genoa, Basle, London, and Scotland, noting the extent of the latter country, its climate, customs, food, manner of living, construction of the houses, and the political opinions of the inhabitants. There is a description by him of Vienna which is so vivid, that to this day fragments of it are to be found in the most recent guides to that city.* Its extent, the number of its inhabitants, the life led by its professors and students, its political and administrative constitution, its mode of life and street scandals, the condition of the nobles and burgesses, its justice, its police, everything seems to bear the same stamp as the Vienna of to-day.† He does not write as a learned man; he is a simple traveller impelled by his own curiosity to observe and describe all that he sees. Piccolomini is a man of his time, his qualities are in the very atmosphere he breathes, and his want of individual originality makes him show them all the plainer. He lived, it is true, in the age of the men of learning, but that was also the age which gave birth to Christopher Columbus and moulded his genius.

It is for these reasons that Piccolomini's historical and geographical writings were his most important works, and that their principal merit lies in the author's descriptions of things and men actually seen by him, and

* *Wiener Baedeker, Führer durch Wien und Umgebungen*, von B. Bucher und K. Weiss. Zweite Auflage: Wien, Faesy und Frich, 1870, pp. 43, 44.

† *Epist.* 165, Basle edition, 1571.

when History, Geography, and Ethnography presented themselves to him as one science. He had only a fragmentary knowledge of Greek and Roman history; he treated but slightly of that of the Middle Ages, taking much from Biondo and others. Still he examined the writers of whom he made use, the epoch, value, and credibility of their works, for criticism ran in the blood of the men of that time. But he never arrived at any true scientific severity or method; he strung together his information in a confused way, from memory and from memoranda in which he had noted down what he saw, read, or heard. This mode of composition, joined to the mobility and mutability of his character, made him at different times express very different judgments upon the same subject; for he always wrote under the impression of the moment. This, however, increases the spontaneity of his writings, and allows us to read in the mutability of his opinions the history of his mind.

He long meditated a species of *Cosmos*, in which he intended to write of the geography of all then known countries, and their history from the beginning of the century to his own day. His *Europa* is a fragment of this colossal work, which was never completed, and in it he makes geography the substratum of history. He treated of the different nations without order, without proportion, very often writing from memory, according to his custom. Later, he wrote the geography of Asia, making use of the traditions of the Grecian geographers, and of the travels of Conti, the Venetian, who had been twenty-five years in

Persia, and of which Poggio in his works had left a very minute narrative, taken from the traveller's own lips.* Piccolomini's last and most important work is his autobiography, written when he was already Pope, and which, in imitation of Julius Cæsar, he styles his *Commentaries*. These he was in the habit of dictating in intervals of leisure; they are therefore made up of fragments loosely strung together, but perhaps for that very reason give a just idea of the author's intellectual qualities, and show the many and versatile merits which are scattered through his other works. In this, we see him in his varied aspects, as the scholar, the poet, the describer of foreign countries, the enthusiast for nature, the *genre* painter, and the mind imbued with a spirit of thoroughly modern realism.† Here are those descriptions of the Roman Campagna, Tivoli, the valley of the Anio, Ostia, Monte Amiata, the Alban Hills, which may still serve as travellers' guides, and almost make you feel the rush of mountain breezes; here, too, if with little order, is the image of a whole century, faithfully

* Poggii, *De varietate fortunæ*, Parisiis, 1723. This work begins with a long introduction, in which the author speaks of the ruined condition of the monuments of Rome. The first book describes the ruins, and then goes on to narrate the deeds of Tamerlane, and the misfortunes of Bajazet. In the second book, Antonio Lusco speaks of the vicissitudes of Europe, from 1377 to the death of Martin V. The third contains a compendium of the history of Italy under Eugene IV. The fourth, which is like a separate work, and has been frequently translated, contains an account of India and Persia, which Poggio derived from Conti, who had been beyond the Ganges. It is certainly one of the most important works Poggio has left, and in it one finds a little of everything; philosophy, descriptions of Italian policy in the fifteenth century, Eastern travels, &c.

† Paolo Cortese says:—"In eo primum apparuit sæculi mutati signum."—*De Cardinalatu*, page 39 (edition of 1510).

reflected in the mind of the writer, who just because he lacks individual character and personality, never gives a subjective tint to the things and men he describes. These *Commentaries* extend from the year 1405 to 1463, and were carried on by another hand down to 1464.*

All that we have related of Valla, Biondo, and Piccolomini will clearly show that, although the learned men of Rome had neither the importance nor the special character of those of Florence, still the Eternal City was always a great centre, to which the learned thronged from all parts of Italy, and soon from all parts of Europe. After the death of the three scholars we have mentioned, we find that there flourished Pomponio Leto, Platina, and the Roman Academy. The first of these was better known for his eccentricity than for his talent, and was generally believed to be a natural son of Prince Sanseverino of Salerno. A pupil of Valla, whom he succeeded as teacher, he left his family in order to come to Rome; and it is said that when they summoned him back, he replied with his celebrated letter—*Pomponius Lætus cognatis et propinquis suis salutem. Quod petitis, fieri non potest. Valete.* Inflamed with an enthusiastic ardour for Roman antiquity, he led the life of

* The *Commentarii* were revised and partly retouched by Giannantonio Campano, bishop of Teramo. Giovanni Gobellino (Gobel or Göbel) continued them from April '63 to April '64. See Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, &c., Vol. VII., page 599, and fol. (2d edition). Voigt has given a complete biography of this Pope in his work, *Enea Silvio di Piccolomini als Pabt Pius der Zweite und Seine Zeitalter.* Berlin: G. Meyner, 1856–63, in 3 vols. See Vol. I., chap. 12, *e passim*, Vol. II., book iii., chap. 6–11.

a hermit, cultivating a vineyard he possessed, according to the precepts of Varro and Columella; going before daybreak to the University, where an immense audience awaited him; reading the classics, and passing long hours in contemplation of the monuments of old Rome which often moved him to tears. He arranged representations of the comedies of Plautus and Terence, and became the head of a large group of learned men, whom he gathered into the Roman Academy, of which he was the founder. Every member of this Academy was rebaptized with a Pagan name, and on the recurrence of the Roman fasti, especially on the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, they all met at a dinner, during which compositions in verse and prose were read aloud.* At these meetings republics and paganism were discussed; and it was here that Platina, and many other learned men, whom Paul II. had dismissed from the secretaries' office, came to vent their rage against the Pope. He was an energetic and impatient man and soon dissolved this academy; many of its members were imprisoned, a few even put to torture, others sought safety in flight (1468). Pomponio Leto was in Venice, and was sent back to Rome, where he saved himself by making his submission and asking pardon.† He was thus

* Yovii, *Elogia doctorum virorum*, Tiraboschi, S. L. T., Vol. VI., pages 107, 210, 644-49; Burckhardt; Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, &c., Vol. VII.

† "Fateor et me errasse, peccasse et ideo penas mereri . . . Rursus petor veniam, ad pedes me Pauli Pont. clementissimi esse credatis, qui solita pietate et misericordia omnibus parcit," &c. So runs the confession, of which Gregorovius could not find the original, but only a copy in the Vatican; *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.* (second edition), page 587, and fol.

enabled to reopen his academy under Sixtus IV., and it lasted until the sack of Rome in 1527. He died in 1498 at the age of seventy, and was buried with great pomp. He published several editions of the classics, and some works on Roman antiquities; but his chief importance consisted in his teaching, in the Pagan enthusiasm which he had the faculty of communicating to others, and in his simple and exclusively studious life.

Another member of the Academy, and one of greater ability, was Bartolommeo Sacchi, of Piadena, in the Cremonese territory, surnamed Platina. First imprisoned for protesting against the loss of his office, he was again shut up in St. Angelo, when the Academy was dissolved; being put to torture, he not only yielded, but made a most abject submission to the Pope, promising to obey him in all things, to celebrate him with highest praise,* to denounce to him whoever should speak ill of him. And all this he said while nourishing an intense desire for revenge. Freed from prison, and named Vatican librarian by Sixtus IV., with the obligation of collecting documents on the history of the temporal power, he revenged himself in his *Vite dei Papi*, by describing Paul II. as the most cruel of tyrants, whose delight it was to torment and torture the learned in the castle of St. Angelo, of which he had made a true

* "Tibi polliceor, etiam si a praetervolantibus avibus aliquid contra nomen salutemque tuam sit, audiero, id statim literis aut nunciis Sanctitati tuae indicaturum. Celebrabimus et prosa et carmine Pauli nomen, et auream hanc ætatem, quam tuus felicissimus pontificatus efficit." This letter, by Platina, to be found in Vairani, *Monum. Cremonensium*, Vol. I., page 30, is quoted by Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, &c., Vol. VII., page 588 (second edit.).

tower of Phalaris. As Platina's biographies achieved great popularity, Paul II. descended to posterity as a monster, and the scholar attained his end. The book's principal merit, and the cause of its success, lay in the style, the author's historic criticism being poor enough. Yet he attempted a most difficult undertaking, for which, in these days, the powers of no one man, however learned and gifted, would suffice, and he was the first to succeed in extracting from the fabulous chronicles of the Middle Ages, a manual of history of great clearness, in which are many specimens of the learned biography of the fifteenth century, and these are pleasant reading, because the author sincerely sought for historic truth, if he did not always succeed in finding it. As he approached his own times, the value and importance of his biographies increase, always excepting when he is blinded by passion. His remaining historical works have less merit. He died in the year 1481 at the age of sixty-one.*

As we have already noted, Rome was the resort, not only of Italians, but also of foreigners, particularly Germans, and among these latter are three youths meriting special mention. Conrad Schweinheim, Arnold Pannartz, and Ulrich Hahn, had left the workshops of Faust and Schöffer, and they were the men who introduced the art of printing into Italy about the year 1464. They had to fight against starvation, and overcome immense difficulties, for in Italy so great was

* Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, &c., Vol. VII., page 603, and fol. (second edition); Tiraboschi, S. L. I., Vol. VI., page 317, and fol.

the passion for ancient manuscripts, that many—among others the Duke of Urbino—preferred written to printed volumes. Yet the new industry rapidly spread, and before the year 1490 printing presses were already at work in more than thirty of our cities. In 1469 the famous Cardinal Niccola di Cusa, also called the Cusano, died, and was buried in St Piero in Vincoli: he was the son of a fisherman of the Moselle, had studied at Padua, and became one of the most illustrious thinkers of the age. He preceded Piccolomini and Valla in doubting the authenticity of the donation of Constantine, but he did not combat the temporal power of the Holy See. He afterwards somewhat modified his opinions, and was raised to the cardinalate, always, however, preserving great integrity of character. Opposed to the authority of Aristotle, he had a philosophic intellect of very great originality; a pantheist and the true precursor of Giordano Bruno, he was a deep thinker as well as scholar.* In 1461 another foreigner made his

* Ritter, *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie*; Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, etc., Vol. VII., p. 592 (2d edition); Ferri, *Il Card Niccolo di Cusa e la Filosofia della Religione* (*Nuova Antologia*, Vol. XX., seventh year, May 1872, p. 100 and fol.) In this article the author examines the philosophical system of Cusano: "Its ruling idea," he says, "is the Absolute, conceivable, but incomprehensible in its infinitude; minimum and maximum, beginning and end of all existence; from it arise the contradictions that it brings into harmony. The idea of Cusano is not the identity of thought and being, but is only an image of the absolute truth. The human intellect remains distinct from the divine, but Creation is a development of the world from God, not a Creation *ex nihilo*. The Dialectic of Cusano does not reach like Hegel's to the identity of thought and being, his system is not yet pure Pantheism, for it admits of two orders of existence, the finite and the infinite." Bruno went a step farther upon this road.

first appearance in Rome, Johann Müller, better known as the famous Regiomontanus, a learned Greek scholar of highest eminence in the mathematics and astronomy of the time. Sixtus IV. entrusted him with the improvement of the calendar, and he died at Rome in 1475. In 1482 came Johann Reuchlin, who afterwards caused Argiropulos, then professor in the Roman University, to exclaim that the Grecian Muses passed the Alps in order to emigrate to Germany.* There in fact learning had been widely propagated and had already borne fruit. The sun of the new Italian culture, risen high above the horizon, now illumined the whole of Europe; but its light still proceeded from Italy, the ancient cradle of knowledge.

From the death of Paul II. to that of Alexander VI., matters in Rome went from bad to worse, and the Popes had other things to think of than scholars, learning or the fine arts. However, Sixtus IV. opened the Vatican to the public, and completed many important constructions in the city. Neither, for a long time, did the Roman people lose their admiration for all that was ancient, as an incident that happened during that period serves to show. In April 1485 a rumour spread that some workmen, digging in the Appian Way, near the tomb of Cecilia Metella, had discovered a Roman sarcophagus containing the remains of a beautiful and well-formed maiden, according to the epitaph, JULIA FILIA CLAUDI: "whose blond tresses were adorned with many and very rich precious stones, and tied with

* Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, etc., p. 596.

gold and a ribbon of green silk."* The workmen carried off the jewels; but an indescribable enthusiasm reigned throughout the city. It was said that this corpse had the colour and freshness of life, that its eyes and mouth were still open. It was carried to the Capitol, and forthwith a sort of religious pilgrimage began of people coming to admire, describe, and delineate it with pencil and brush. It may perhaps have had a waxen mask, like those found at Cumae and elsewhere; but every one then believed that an ancient beauty must be infinitely superior to any living one. This was the idea and illusion of the age, yet already it began to seem like the echo of a world on the point of change. Harsh reality was preparing new and very bitter experiences: under Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. all things went to ruin in Italy.

4. Milan and Francesco Filelfo.

The other cities of Italy are of much less importance than Florence and Rome in the history of letters. In republics like Genoa and Venice they began to flourish much later than in Tuscany. Naples had been too long in a state bordering upon anarchy, and at Milan there was little to be hoped for under the rule of a monster like Filippo Maria Visconti, a Condottiere like

* Matarazzo, *Cronaca di Perugia*, in the *Archivio Storico*, Vol. XVI., part ii., p. 180. The MS. has a gap which prevented its editors from seeing the date of the year. See Nantiporto in Muratori's *Scriptores*, Vol. II., part ii., col. 109; see Infessura in Eccard, *Scriptores*, Vol. II., col. 1951; Burckhardt, *Die Renaissance*, p. 183 (1st edition).

Francesco Sforza, or a dissolute and cruel youth like his son Galeazzo Maria. Yet such was then the state of the national spirit, that no one could or might keep entirely aloof from studious pursuits; Visconti himself felt the need of reading Dante and Petrarch, and tried to collect a few learned men round him. It was, however, difficult to find any one willing to stay long with him. Panormita, though by no means a scrupulous man, could not be induced to stay, even by a salary of eight hundred zechins, and departed to seek his fortunes elsewhere. The only man fitted for that court was Francesco Filelfo of Tolentino, who there found a secure asylum whence to insult his enemies with impunity, and live by adulation and the traffic of his pen. This man believed himself and was generally believed to be one of the greatest intellects of the age; but on the contrary he was totally wanting in originality, and his acquirements were very confused and open to question. Having been sent by the Venetian Republic as ambassador to Constantinople, where he married the daughter of his Greek master, Emmanuele Crisolora, he came back to Italy in 1427, at the age of twenty-nine. He brought a good store of manuscripts, spoke and wrote Greek, had a great facility for the composition of Latin verses, and that was quite sufficient in those times to establish his reputation as an extraordinary man. His enormous vanity and restless temperament did the rest. Sent for to teach in the Florentine Studio, he speedily wrote to all of his great success: "even noble matrons," said he, "give way to me in the

streets." However, he was soon at war with everybody. He was a bitter enemy of the Medici, and advised the execution of Cosimo, at that time a prisoner in the Palazzo Vecchio;* at last he had to take refuge in Siena, where he ran the danger of being killed by one whom he believed to be an assassin in the pay of Medici in that place. And meanwhile in Florence he was tried and condemned as a conspirator against the lives of Cosimo, Carlo Marsuppini and others.

At Siena he wrote his obscene *Satire* against Poggio; later, we find him at Milan, where he received a stipend of seven hundred zecchins per year, and a house to live in, and wrote in exalted terms of the virtue and particularly the liberality of his "divine prince," Filippo Maria Visconti, that tyrant almost unrivalled for perfidiousness and cruelty. On the death of Visconti and the proclamation of the Ambrosian Republic at Milan, he lauded the new Conscript Fathers, and then formed part of the deputation that bore the keys of Milan to Francesco Sforza, in whose honour he wrote his great poem, *The Sforziad.*

A fertile composer of biographies, satires, and epistles, his eloquence, as Giovio expressed it, resembled a

* One of the Satires he wrote at this time, concluded thus:

". . . Vobis res coram publica sese
Offert in medium, referens stragesque necesque
Venturas, ubi forte minus pro lege vel æquo
Supplicium fuerit de sonte nefando;
Aut etiam officium collatum munere civis
Namque relegatus, si culpæ nomine mulctam
Pendent, officiet magnis vos cladibus omnes."

(Philelphi, *Satiræ* quartæ decadis hecatostica prima.)

river which overflowed and muddied everything. Yet he looked upon himself as a dispenser of immortality, of fame or infamy, to whom he chose. When he had to write an Italian commentary on Petrarch, he deplored the degradation to which this reduced his epic muse; nevertheless, he was always ready to sell his Latin verses and his praises to the highest bidder, without being troubled with any sense of shame.

His principal works, besides the *Satires*, were only two, and they remained unpublished, without much loss to letters. The first, entitled *De Jocis et Seriis*, is a collection of epigrams, divided into ten books, each of a thousand verses, according to the author's always artificial rhetoric. Full of jests, and indecent and very prosaic insults, its only object seems to be an exhibition of the author's facility in verse-making, and gaining money by unworthy adulation, or still more unworthy abuse. Now, it is his daughter who has no dower, and whose clothes are in tatters; now the muse of Filelfo is silent for want of money, and he supplicates half threateningly, half humbly, that some may be granted to him.*

* Rosmini in his *Vita di F. Filelfo* (Milan, Mussi, 1808, 3 vols., has published some of these verses.

Of Francesco Fforza, Filelfo says :—

"Nam quia magnifici data non est copia nummi
Cogitur hinc uti carmine rancidule.
Quod neque mireris, vocem pretiosa canoram
Esca dat, et potus excibat ingenium.
Ingenium spurco suevit languescere vino,
Humida mugitum reddere rapa solet."

ROSMINI, Vol. II. p. 283, doc. vi.

On the 18th June 1459, precisely while he was engaged on this work, he wrote to Cardinal Bessarion. "Being now free from fever, I can fulfil my duty towards yourself and the Holy Father Pius II., namely, that of writing verses in exchange for money."*

Nor was his conduct different while writing his other work—also unpublished—*The Sforziad*, divided into twenty-four cantos, of which only ten are to be found in the libraries. It is an attempt at an epic poem, relating Sforza's enterprises, and starting from the death of Filippo Maria Visconti. In easy verses, sometimes in the Virgilian, but oftener in the Ovidian style, the author lauds to the sky every action of his hero, even the most perfidious. The gods of

To Gentile Simonetta:

"Filia nam dotem petit altera et altera vestes
Filiolique petunt illud et illud item."

Vol. II. p. 287, doc. vi.

To Bianca Maria Sforza:

"Blanca, dies natalis adest qui munera pacis
Adtulit eternæ regibus et populis,
Dona mihi quæ, Blanca, tuo das debita vati,
Cui bellum indixit horrida pauperies?
Fœnore mi pereunt vestes, pereuntque libelli,
Hinc metuunt Musæ, Phæbus et ipse timet.
. . . . . .
Non ingratus ero: nam me tua vate per omne
Cognita venturis gloria tempus erit."

Vol. II. p. 288, doc. vi.

To Francesco Sforza:

"Si, Francisce, meis rebus prospexeris unus,
Unus ero, qui te semper ad astra feram."

Vol. II. p. 290, doc. vi.

* C. De Rosmini, *Vita di F. Filelfo*, Vol. II. p. 317, doc. xx.

Olympus, occasionally even St Ambrose and other Christian saints, are the real actors in this drama; but they are never more than mere abstractions, and their sole effect is to deprive the hero of the poem of all personality. There is no atom of true poetry in it, and Filelfo was more in the right than he imagined, when declaring that money was the only muse that gave him inspiration. Whenever he had to bring some fresh personage on to the stage, he immediately began to bargain. Woe to him who did not pay him! And in this way he managed to obtain money, food, horses, clothes, everything. He feigned to be poor and starving, while living in luxury with six servants and six horses. He deplored the misery to which, according to his own account, his immortal muse was reduced; he was ashamed of needing money, but never of begging for it. And all paid court to him, because they stood in fear of his verses. Even Mahomet II. freed Filelfo's mother-in-law and sister-in-law from prison, on the poet's sending him a Greek ode and a letter, in which he said: "I am one of those whose eloquence celebrates illustrious deeds, and confers immortality on those who are by nature mortal, and I have undertaken to narrate your glorious feats, which by the fault of the Latins and the will of God, have given victory to your arms."* He maintained the same behaviour in writing the *Satires*, of which there were one hundred, divided into ten decades; and each

* C. de Rosmini, *Vita di F. Filelfo*, Vol. II. p. 90, and pp. 305 and 308, doc. x.

satire containing one hundred verses, was called by him a *Hecatostica.*

Filelfo did not consider himself well treated by Rome. It is true that Nicholas V., after hearing him read his *Satires,* awarded him a gift of five hundred golden ducats; he was overwhelmed with courtesies, was commissioned to make a translation of Homer, with the offer of a generous stipend, gratuities, a house, and other things besides if he accepted. But he, having other views, refused all this. After the death of his first, and then of his second wife, he signified that he might be persuaded to settle in Rome, if a Cardinal's hat were bestowed upon him, either at once or later. This request being neglected, he took a third wife, and refused every future invitation. But at Sforza's death, his fortunes changed; he fell into poverty, and had to beg for the patronage of the hated Medici, who recalled him to the Florence University. He arrived there at the age of eighty-three, in 1431, with worn-out strength and exhausted means, and died shortly afterwards. Filelfo was an example of what could be done in those days by a man of good memory, great facility for writing and speaking different languages, inordinate vanity and pride, no principles, no morality, and no originality.*

* On Filelfo, one can consult, besides his own works, the three vols. of biography published by Rosmini (who is, however, much too laudatory), with many documents, among which are fragments of Filelfo's unpublished writings. Mr Shepherd, in his *Vita di P. Bracciolini,* speaks at length of Filelfo. See also Nisard's *Gladiateurs,* &c., Vol. I.; Guillaume Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire,* Tome I., Genève, 1856; Tiraboschi, Vespasiano, and Voigt in their previously quoted works.

He was not certainly the only learned man in Milan. As before noticed, we find there in the times of Francesco Sforza, Cicco Simoneta, a very learned secretary; his brother Giovanni, court historian, who narrates the Duke's life and deeds from 1423 to 1466, in a history that is not without merit, for it describes matters of which the author was an eye-witness; and Guiniforte Barsizza, preceptor to the Duke's children Galeazzo Maria and Ippolita, who was afterwards celebrated for her Latin discourses.* Battista Sforza, daughter of Alessandro, lord of Pesaro, and Francesco's brother, also famous for her Latin compositions,† was likewise educated at this court. Still this does not suffice to give Milan any real value of its own in the history of learning.

5. Learned Men in Naples.

Alfonso of Aragon, besides being a warrior, was also a man of no common intellect, and knew how to give his Court a higher rank in literature. He laid aside his national characteristics with singular facility, and became thoroughly Italian, emulating our native princes as a patron of the fine arts, in the search for ancient manuscripts, in studying the classics, and in surrounding himself with literary men, on whom, according to Vespasiano, he spent some twenty thou-

* In 1465 she became the wife of Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Calabria.

† Afterwards wife of Frederigo, Duke of Urbino.

sand ducats annually.* Titus Livius was his idol, so much so, that it is related how Cosimo di Medici, wishing to gain his friendship, sent him a precious manuscript of that historian's works. He wrote to beg the Venetians to obtain for him from Padua one of Livy's arm bones, as though it had been a sacred relic. On a march with his army one day, Sulmona, the birthplace of Ovid, was pointed out to him, whereupon he immediately made a halt, to give vent to exclamations of joy. He effected his state entry into Naples through a breach in the walls, carefully imitating all the ceremonial of a Roman triumph.

Trapezunzio, Valla, Fazio, Beccadelli, and Porcellio dei Pandoni, resided long at his Court, and for a short time Filelfo, Gaza, Manetti, and Piccolomini were also there. All were treated with munificence and kindness. When Fazio had completed his *Historia Alphonsi*, the king, who already paid him five hundred ducats a-year, made him a present of fifteen hundred more, saying, "This is not intended as payment for your work, which is above price."† When he sent an invitation to Manetti, who was flying from his Florence, he said to him, "With you I will divide my last loaf."

A man of unprejudiced mind, continually at war with the Papacy, he gave shelter and protection to

* Vespasiano, *Vita d'Alfonso d'Aragona*, VI. and XIV. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung*, &c., p. 235, says one hundred and twenty thousand ducats; but this is certainly a mistake, perhaps an error of the press.

† Vespasiano, *Vita d'Alfonso*, § vii.

all men of learning, whatever their opinions, and guaranteed them full freedom of speech, defending them against the Inquisition and every other danger. Thus Valla, who was the most important man of learning at the Neapolitan court, was enabled to write against Popes and priests, and freely expose his religious and philosophical opinions both in his writings and from his professorial chair. This bestowed on the learned society of Naples a distinct physiognomy and special importance. It was the same with Antonio Beccadelli, surnamed the Panormita. Born at Palermo in 1394, he, after studying at Padua, had suddenly achieved a noisy celebrity by writing a book, which excited great scandal by its indecency, which was not as yet very usual in learned writings. This work, bearing the title *Hermaphroditus*, is a collection of epigrams, which in shameless pungency and indecent flippancy surpasses anything before written in imitation of the Roman satirists. Not only vice in general, but obscenity and viciousness of every description, were the continual subject of his verses, which, possessing some elegance and mastery of many difficult points of style and language, obtained an extensive success. But very fierce attacks were also made upon the author. He, however, was in no wise disconcerted by them, and gloried in his book, because he had written it in imitation of the ancients, and proved that anything and everything could be expressed in Latin. He defended himself by quoting Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Juvenal, and even Greek and

Roman philosophers and politicians, who, although virtuous men, had written similar obscenities. He added that if his poems were open to the same reproach, his life was without stain.* Nevertheless, there was great uproar. Poggio—certainly a man of few scruples—decidedly blamed him; the Minorite friars hurled their thunders on him from the pulpit, and according to Valla, went the length of burning him in effigy. But Guarino Veronese, a very celebrated scholar, an old man of sixty-three, the father of many children, of the purest character, and quite incapable of imitating him, yet defended him energetically, deriding his detractors, who, said he, "are ignorant that life has one scope, poetry another." And such were, in point of fact, the ideas of the age. Sigismondo, king of the Romans, crowned Panormita poet laureate in Sienna, and the *Hermaphroditus* created a school, for from that time forward it was considered almost a merit for an Italian scholar to write Latin indecencies.

Alfonso, being quite indifferent to the accusations launched against the poet, and firm in his wish to give refuge to all those who were persecuted by others, always held Panormita in great esteem. So the poet wrote the *Dicta et facta Alphonsi*, for which he received a reward of a thousand ducats; afterwards *Alphonsi regis triumphus*, and numerous works in the shape of letters, orations, and Latin verses, which prove

* "Crede velim nostra vitam distare papyro,
Si mea charta procax, mens sine labe mea est."

(Antonii Panormitæ *Hermaphroditus*. Primus in Germania edidit et Apophoreta adjicit F. C. Forbergius; Coburgi, 1824. Vide *Epig.* II. 1.

him to be a facile writer of no especial merit. He read aloud, and commented to the king, Livy, Virgil, and Seneca; he was made a noble, and presented with a villa and large sums of money. Bartolommeo Fazio and the others were men of even less weight. The only really original mind, therefore, at the Court of Naples was Valla, who contributed in no small degree to foster the critical and philosophical spirit for which Neapolitans have a natural aptitude. Another eminent man, Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, was also there, but he flourished later, and belongs to a succeeding period in the history of our letters.

6. The Minor Italian States.

On turning our attention to the smaller cities and lesser States of Italy, we shall find society exposed to such continual and violent shocks, and torn by so many bloody crimes, that it is impossible to conceive how arts and letters should ever have flourished at all in them. The petty tyrants were continually exposed to the attacks of their neighbours, or to conspiracies daily breaking out in their own States. Where a city like Ferrara or Bologna was in question, the strategical position of the former, and of the latter the territorial importance, afforded certain help in their continual vicissitudes. Where two princes were concerned as powerful as Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro, —who had the support of his brother of Milan—or as Federico d'Urbino—who was also a captain of adven-

turers—with an army at his back, then, even if dangers were unavoidable, it was at least comparatively easy to save the States. But where all such assistance was lacking, we find nothing but bloody histories like those of the Baglioni in Perugia. These never succeeded in establishing an undisputed lordship over the city; they were, it is true, the dominant family, but their chief was not always recognised by its members, and there was a strong adverse party, headed by the Oddi. The town was always filled with armed men and bravos, and violent tumults would break out at a moment's notice.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, bloody fights within and without Perugia were so frequent and so furious, that the houses in the country round were all knocked to pieces, the fields devastated, the peasants converted into assassins, the citizens enlisted in the free companies; while wolves prowled about feeding on "Christian flesh."* Yet it was precisely at this period that the noblest, most ideal and delicate painting of the Umbrian school flourished at Perugia: another of the same strange contrasts then to be observed throughout the length and breadth of Italy.

Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini was another of the petty tyrants, and one of the most remarkable of them. A renowned captain of adventurers, without ever having held the command of large armies, he frequently showed himself a true monster of

* *Archivio Storico*, Vol. XVI., parts 1 and 2. The Chronicles of Graziani and Matarazzo.

cruelty. He repudiated his first wife, after receiving her dowry; out of jealousy or revenge he murdered his second and third; but ardently loved his mistress Isotta to the end of his life. Stained by a thousand crimes, he was extremely cynical and irreligious. On his tomb he desired the following inscription to be placed:—

"Porto le corna ch'ogn'uno le vede,
E tal le porta che non se lo crede."

He denied God, denied the immortality of the soul, and when the Pope pronounced sentence of excommunication against him, he enquired if the excommunicated still continued to enjoy the flavour of good wine and good dinners. On the occasion of some great festival of the Church, he had the holy water pyx filled with ink, in order to enjoy seeing the faithful stain themselves with it unawares.* Yet even this coarse tyrant was surrounded by literary men, to some of whom he gave estates, to others assigned salaries; and in his castle, *Arx Sismundea*, they sang the praises of the prince, and extolled his passion for the beautiful Isotta, to whom a monument, *Divae Isottae sacrum*, was erected in the church of St Francesco beside that of her lover. The church itself, upon which Leon Battista Alberti worked from 1445 to 1450, and which is one of the most elegant and purest edifices of the Renaissance, bears on its façade the name of Sigismund, and the initials S. and T. are introduced into the ornaments. In the two outer sides are niches intended for the tombs of the

* G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio de Piccolomini*, etc., Vol. III., p. 123.

Court soldiers and men of learning. And there was no affectation in all this; it was the expression of a real need of the cultured and artistic side of his character. Pius II., who was at fierce war with him, and burnt him in effigy, wrote that he (Malatesta) "was learned in history; had great knowledge of philosophy, and seemed born for everything that he undertook." *

At Ferrara, Mantova, Urbino, the capital cities of small but nevertheless important States, things wore a very different aspect. Without being great centres like Rome and Florence, they had a character and a distinct importance of their own in the history of letters. Ferrara was the most celebrated. Its strategical position rendered it independent, since none of the great Italian States could allow another to take possession of it. The Lords of Este, who ruled and fortified it, were men of ability and also often of great military power. Yet the interior of the Ducal Palace witnessed many scenes of bloodshed. Parisina, wife of the bastard Niccolo III., being enamoured of a natural son of her husband, both she and her lover were beheaded (1425). And the same Duke had afterwards to consolidate his power, combating the hostile nobility, with every stratagem of war, and all manner of treachery. This bastard was succeeded by two natural sons, Lionello and Borso. In after years Ercole, legitimate son of Niccolo III., seized the dukedom by force of arms from

* Pii II. *Comm.*, Romae, 1584, lib. ii., p. 92. Burckhardt, pp. 223, 224, observes that the word *historia* is here used to indicate a knowledge of antiquity.

the hands of Lionello's son, and did bloody execution on his enemies. And so matters went on even in the sixteenth century, when Cardinal Ippolito d'Este put out the eyes of his brother Giulio, another bastard, because they were praised by a lady whom both loved, and who alleged to the cardinal as the reason why she preferred his brother to himself, the irresistible beauty of the former's eyes. The operation was imperfectly performed, thereby causing fresh tragedies at the unhappy Court, for Giulio, to whom the sight of one eye remained, conspired with Don Ferrante against their common brother, Duke Alfonso I.,* husband of Lucrezia Borgia. The cardinal betrayed the plot (1506), and the two brothers were condemned to a perpetual imprisonment, in which Don Ferrante died, and from which Giulio was only liberated on the accession of Alfonso II. (1559).

Yet this was the Court so celebrated for its artistic and literary splendour, even to the days of Bojardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, who shed over it the lustre of their names and of their immortal works. Having been, in the Middle Ages, a Lombard, feudal, and knightly city, it had not shared the great literary movement that shewed itself in Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But in the fifteenth century it was one of the most flourishing cities of Italy, and the disorders of the Court seldom seemed to spread beyond the walls of the Ducal Palace. Ferrara had been built after a pre-

* The brothers were four: Alfonso I., Cardinal Ippolito, Don Ferrante and Giulio the bastard, all sons of Ercole I.

arranged design, it was governed in an orderly way, and exiles from Florence and other Italian cities took refuge and erected palaces there. The houses and streets that are now so deserted barely sufficed for the needs of the population. Its dukes looked after everything, and invited learned men to settle among them. Among these, the first place must be given to Guarino Veronese, who, in bringing learning to Ferrara where feudal and knightly traditions were in full force, promoted the revival of letters which afterwards gave us the *Orlando Inamorato*, the *Orlando Furioso*, and so many other works of imperishable fame.*

Guarino, born in 1370, studied Greek at Constantinople, whence he returned to Italy with a rich store of manuscripts, and so tenderly did he value these, that there was a generally received fable of his hair having suddenly turned white on the loss by shipwreck of a large portion of his treasure.† He taught first in Florence, then at Venice, where one of his pupils was Vittorino da Feltre, in whom he infused his learning and principles of education. Called to Ferrara in 1424 by Niccolo III., he became the instructor of Lionello and professor at the university, devoting himself with feverish ardour to his double office, besides writing a great number of works: translations of Plutarch, Plato, Strabo, and Lucian; biographies, grammars, and more than fifty orations. But above all else, his principal

* Giosnè Carducci, *Delle poesie latine edite ed inedite di Ludovico Ariosto.* Bologna, Zanichelli, 1875, p. 21 and fol.

† C. De Rosmini, *Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese*, Brescia 1805-6, Vol. I., p. 6; Tiraboschi S. L. T., Vol. VI. p. 118.

merit consists in the nobility of his character and his method of instruction, in which there was great originality, and which produced very remarkable results. An excellent father of his family, of temperate and sober life, speaking ill of no man, he lived in the midst of his scholars, of whom he had always a houseful. It was said that more learned men issued from his school than Greeks from the Trojan horse. And certainly more than thirty of his pupils were celebrated for their learning,* although Vittorino da Feltre was the only one who achieved a lasting reputation. But Guarino's labours may best be measured by the impulse he gave to letters in Ferrara, which, by his teachings and under the rule of his pupils Lionello and Borso d'Este, was transformed into a small Italian Athens. He continued to work with the same zeal to the time of his death, which took place on the 4th December 1460, in the ninetieth year of his age, when he breathed his last in the bosom of his family, loved and venerated by all.

The Gonzagas of Mantova, some of whom were leaders of mighty armies, never committed any of the crimes which so deeply stained the history of the Estes. Their Court, it is true, had no splendour until the sixteenth century, in the times of Bembo, Bandello, Ariosto, and Tasso, and especially during the life of the good Marchioness Isabella. But in the fifteenth century Mantova was honoured by being the place of residence of Vittorino Rambaldoni da Feltre (born 1378, died

* Rosmini in his Life of Guarino gives us ample details of all these pupils.

1446), the first of modern pedagogues, and who, as we have already seen, was Guarino's most illustrious pupil. Summoned to Mantova by Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, he received a munificent stipend and a dwelling in which he founded his celebrated school, soon to be known by the name of the *Casa Gioiosa*, from the constant gaiety that prevailed among his well-cared-for pupils. His tutorial principles were excellent, and he taught the classics with the aid of renowned Greeks, such as Gaza and Trapezunzio. To these and to other studies usual in schools of that time, were added music, dancing, drawing, gymnastics, and riding. The fundamental principle of Vittorino's school was: That for the formation of character, the education of the body should be coupled with that of the mind. And Vittorino's success in so immoral an age, was entirely owing to the nobility and elevation of his mind, and the generosity which made him spend all his salary on the gratuitous education of the poor, who thus pursued their studies side by side with the Marquis of Mantua's sons and the young Federico da Montefeltro, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Urbino. And this community and equality in school of all orders of citizens, formed part of Vittorino's tutorial system, for he was the first to conduct instruction and education upon scientific principles.* The excellent results of the *Casa Gioiosa* were plainly visible in Mantua and elsewhere, since for a long time Vittorino's pupils were dis-

* C. De Rosmini, *Idea dell 'ottimo precettore nella Vita e disciplina di Vittorino da Feltre e dei suoi discepoli.* Bassano, *Remondiniana* press 1801.

tinguished by a loyalty of character which was in strong contrast with the general corruption.

It was mainly owing to this system of education that Urbino became the model Court of Italy, and that the Duke Federico was good, loyal, and faithful in spite of being a Condottiere Captain. Universally renowned for his strategy, for the discipline maintained by his soldiers, and for being the only leader of his time who never betrayed his word nor his oath, he was acquainted with Latin, philosophy, and history; he read the classics, and had a pronounced taste for theological controversy. These acquirements, united to those gained in the camp and the council chamber, gave him possession, or at least comprehension, of nearly all the knowledge of his day. His life was ordered with the regularity of a time-piece, and all his leisure moments were given to discussion and study. When he went to Tivoli with Pope Pius II., beneath a burning sun, amid the dust raised by the hoofs of the cavalry, the glitter of helmets and swords, he chatted with the Pope on the arms of the ancients, on the Trojan war, and could not quite agree with him on the subject of the confines of Asia Minor.* The money earned by the rich pay of a free-captain he spent during peace in beautifying the city and Court of Urbino. It almost seemed as though he wished to make his State a work of art. The palace built by him was one of the most celebrated in Italy, not for its richness but for its exquisite taste. It housed many hundreds of persons, to each of whom a definite

* Pii II., Comm., page 131.

office was entrusted, with a fixed time-table and written instructions. It resembled a great military school, to which many nobles sent their sons, in order that they might be trained in military discipline, and exercises, and in elegance of manners. His greatest treasure was the extensive library, on which he spent 30,000 ducats,* and gave employment for fourteen years to thirty or forty copyists in Urbino, Florence, and other places. † He had it arranged with the nicest order, following in part the system of Parentucelli,‡ but trying to embrace the whole circle of

* Professor E. Piccolomini, in his work *Sulla libreria privata dei Medici*, before quoted by us, gives, at page 25, the instructions given to the librarian, which clearly prove the great precision and order exacted by the Duke.

† This library, afterwards stolen by Duke Valentino, and later bought by Pope Alexander VIII., is now to be found in the Vatican. Castiglioni, in his *Cortegiano*, mentions it briefly; but Vespasiano speaks of it at length, and describes it with ecstacy. "This Duke alone has had a mind to do that which no one has undertaken for more than a thousand years, and to collect a library, the worthiest ever made in all these ages. . . . And he has taken the road that needs must be taken by whomsoever wishes to make a worthy and famous library such as this is. . . . What letters! what books! what goodly books! collected without regard for expense." (*Vita di Federico, Duke of Urbino*, sec. xxviii.) . . . "In that library all the books are superlatively beautiful, all written with the pen, and not a single printed one, for the Duke would have taken shame to himself for it; all most elegantly illuminated, and none that is not written upon kid." But its principal merit was the order with which it was arranged, containing the principal ancient and modern authors in every branch of knowledge, and not many specimens of the same author, one copy of each, neither is there a single sheet of their works that is not complete."—(*Ibidem*, sec. xxxi.)

‡ Professor Piccolomini, at page 111 and fol. of his above quoted work, gives the bibliographical canon composed by Parentucelli, afterwards Pope Nicholas V., and one can see how incomplete it is, and therefore how exaggerated the praises which it obtained.

ancient and modern lore.* Thus he succeeded in obtaining something unique in the world. Surrounded by Italian and foreign artists, and by soldiers, he had not many learned men at his court, but many were in correspondence with him, and dedicated to him their works. He went about unarmed among his people, dined frugally in the open air, listening to readings from Livy or other ancient authors. Towards evening he attended the military and gymnastic exercises performed by his youths and pages in the field of St Francesco. The people loved their Duke, and his successors followed in his footsteps.† It would be too much to assert that Urbino gave any extraordinary impulse to literary culture in Italy; but we may say that it was like a shining jewel amid the Apennines; a model city, the birth-place of many great men, the greatest of whom was Raphael.

7. The Platonic Academy.

The writers hitherto noticed, lived, as we have already said, amid a multitude of others, whose names, though famous in their own day, gradually fell into oblivion. No century in fact has given a place in history to so great a hecatomb of supposed celebrities as the fifteenth century. And this is easily explained by the double

* Vespasiano, *Vita di Federico, Duca d'Urbino*, sec. xxxi.

† Vespasiano, *Vita di Federico, Duca d'Urbino;* Ugolini, *Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino*, volo Duc: Firenzi, 1859; Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*: London, Longmans & Co., 1851; Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, page 44-46; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung*, etc., page 263.

work that age carried on. On the one hand, in its efforts to revive antiquity, it set in motion an often mechanical imitation and reproduction of the past, in which those who have since been forgotten took part; on the other, new and unexpected results were obtained, which were the work of a much smaller number of scholars, whose names deserve historical mention. And this double order of facts and individuals is to be met with in nearly all the culture of the Renaissance—in philosophy no less than in letters. Philosophy had apparently a great and general importance among the learned; but the greater number of them merely extracted from the ancient writers a dictionary of phrases on glory, friendship, contempt of death, the *summum bonum*, happiness and virtue, which they continually repeated, without conforming to them either their actions or their convictions. We constantly find in these phrases a strange mixture of Paganism and Christianity, in odd contradiction one with the other; a point which was quite indifferent to the writer. Soon, however, the need was felt of finding some unrevealed but rational basis of human life to explain at once Pagan and Christian virtue, and to harmonize their too apparent contradiction. Then, work that was more or less original began, initiated by the Neo-Platonists and the Academy, founded by them in Florence.

The Greek exiles did not contribute much to the diffusion among us of their language, (which had already begun to be studied in Italy) and still less to the learning which already flourished before their arrival, but they

greatly helped to direct learning itself to the study of the ancient philosophers. The first origin of Platonism, or rather of Neo-Platonism, in Italy, is in fact owed to Giorgio Gemistos, surnamed Plethon on account of his professed admiration for Plato. Born in the Peloponnesus according to some, only a refugee there from Constantinople according to others, he was the most learned and influential of the many Greeks gathered together at the Council of Florence. And so earnest and enthusiastic was his devotion to Platonism, that he even hoped from it a revival of religion. This caused his detractors to assert that he desired the revival of Paganism; but judging by his writings, by those of his followers, and the positive results of his doctrines, we may safely affirm that he was convinced that Christianity would derive fresh confirmation from the Platonic philosophy, and might therefore be revived under another, and in his opinion, a more rational form. In a pamphlet, which became very celebrated,* he examined the points of diversity between the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies, and giving preference, of course, to the former system, reduced everything to a single question. The two great philosophers, said he, admit that nature works, not by chance, but according to a given end. Aristotle, however, maintains that this end is attained unconsciously, *non consulto*; Plato, on the contrary, asserts with more justice that nature is rational, is conscious, *consulto agit*: its art is divine,

* *De Platonicæ atque Aristotelicæ philosophicæ differentia. Basileæ*, 1574.

since it is God himself who works in it.* A most burning dispute arose upon this question, which, unimportant as it may seem to us, was of immense consequence at that time. For it opened the way to Pantheism; and the conception of the personal God, of the Omnipotent Jehovah of the Jews, of the Father Almighty of the Christians, was here transformed into the conception of the philosophical absolute.† The Greek and Italian men of learning, though with no clear understanding of what they were doing, still foresaw the great importance of the question at issue, and therefore dwelt upon it with insistency.

Giorgio Scolarius and Thedore Gaza, both Greeks and both Aristotelians, fiercely attacked Plethon in the gross language customary to learned men in those days. Cardinal Bessarion, in endeavouring to make peace, allowed it to escape him that he considered Thedore Gaza

* In my *Storia di G. Savonarola, &c.*, I have gone into this subject more minutely. *See* vol. i., book 1, chap. 4.

† "Unser heutiger monotheistischer Gottesbegriff hat zwei seiten, die der Absolutheit und die der Personlichkeit, die zwar in ihm vereinigt sind, doch so, wie bisweilen in einem Menschen zwei Eigenschaften, davon die eine ihm nachweislich von den väterlichen die andre von den mütterlichen Seite kömmt: das eine Moment ist die judisch-christliche, das andre die griechisch-philosophische Mitgift unseres Gottesbegriffs. Das alte Testament können wir sagen hat uns den Herrn-Gott, das neue den Gott-Vater, die griechische Philosophie aber hat uns die Gottheit oder das Absolute vererbt."—Strauss, *Der alte und der neue Glaube:* Bonn, 1873, 5th edition, page 107. The same author observes in the preceding page: "In Alexandria war es, wo der jüdische Stamm-und Nationalgott mit dem Welt-und Menschheitsgotte zusammenfloss und bald zusammen wuchs den die griechische Philosophie aus der olympischen Göttermenge ihrer Volksreligion heraus entwickelt hatte" (page 106). From Alexandria these ideas came to Italy, spread throughout Europe, and became the bone and substance of modern culture.

more learned than Giorgio Trapezuntios, whereupon the latter attacked every one, including Plato himself, with greater fury than before. Then Bessarion published a voluminous work, *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, in which, while repulsing Trapezuntios' assaults, he tried with his easy and very diffuse Latin eloquence, which was barren of all literary or philosophical originality, to conciliate all opposing opinions. According to him, Aristotle and Plato both said in substance the same things. This contest waged among the Greeks, had no genuine philosophical importance, and remained where it was left by G. G. Plethon; but it served to attract Italian minds to a branch of erudition, which they had hitherto neglected, their study of the Greek philosophers having been chiefly literary. Meanwhile G. G. Plethon, without wasting time in replying to abuse, succeeded, before returning to his own country, in infusing so much admiration for the Platonic doctrines in Cosimo di Medici's mind, that he left him decided to use every means for their propagation in Italy, and to re-establish the old academy.

To attain this object, Cosimo's practical common sense, shewed him that first of all he must find a suitable man. And such an one he believed that he had found in a young man of Figline, a doctor's son, aged eighteen, who was devoting himself with much ardour to his father's profession. "Thy son," said Cosimo, "is born to minister to minds, not bodies;" and he took him to live in his own palace, intending him to be the future champion of Platonism. This youth was Marsilio Ficino (born

1433), who, setting to work with fervent zeal, after five years' study, produced a work on the Platonic philosophy, which was based, however, only upon translations. And from that time to his life's end, Ficino studied nothing but Plato and the Neoplatonists, writing a great number of translations and original tractates, besides giving instruction to the sons and grandsons of Cosimo, and afterwards to a large class in the Florentine Studio.

To describe Ficino's works is to give the history of Platonism in Italy; to narrate his life is to give the history of the Platonic academy. His followers contented themselves with repeating their master's ideas, and the academy was born and died with him. It was in reality a mere assembly of friends and disciples who gathered round him, under the protection of the Medici, for the discussion of Platonic philosophy. It resembled the reunions formerly held in the cell of Marsigli or of Traversari; excepting that the Medici, especially Lorenzo, oftener joined in these, promoted them with more ardour, and the philosophical matters discussed in them had a much louder echo throughout Italy. During the summer some of these meetings were held in the forest of Camaldoli; others more solemn were held every year in Florence, and in the Medici villa at Careggi on the 7th November, which, according to the Alexandrine tradition, was the anniversary of Plato's birth and death.* The custom of solemnly celebrating

* A similar tradition was also current respecting Pythagoras and Apollonius, arising perhaps from the old custom of the primitive Christians, who often styled the day on which martyrs passed to a better life their birthday.

it, observed down to the times of Plotinus and Porphirius, was, after twelve hundred years, according to Ficino, now resumed.* The festival began with a banquet, followed by a philosophical discussion, generally ending with an apotheosis, which was almost a sacred hymn to the great Master. Less solemn meetings and discussions were held on many different occasions, but always in the same easy and friendly manner.

The title of Academy was only taken from the doctrines entertained by its members, since as far as we can ascertain, it had no peculiar statutes or regulations. It was held together by Ficino's teachings and personality, and by the fervour of his friends and disciples.† And if, on the one hand, this reduces it to insignificance as an institution, on the other, it increases its historical importance, since it proves it to be a natural and spontaneous outcome of the social conditions which gave it birth. In fact, no sooner were these social and intellectual conditions changed, than it became impossible to keep it alive. It went on very regularly down to 1478; when the bloody conspiracy of the Pazzi having broken out, and persecution commenced, men's minds were disturbed; there was an end to the tranquillity requisite for philosophic contemplation, and the meetings, already sadly thinned, ceased altogether with Ficino's death.

* Ficino states this in his Commentary on Plato's *Symposium*.

† Ficino in his letters divides his Platonists into disciples and friends, saying, that from the latter he often learned much. One of them was Poliziano, who wrote to him:—"Thou seekest the truth and I seek the beautiful in the writings of the ancients; our works complete each other, being like two halves of one and the same whole."

Those afterwards held in the Oricellarii Gardens, and at which Machiavelli was often present, had very little to do with Platonism, as is clearly seen by Machiavelli's dialogues, *Delle Arte della Guerra*, and by the plots that were hatched there. We might almost say that the title of Platonic still given to these meetings was sometimes a mask to hide their real purport. The attempts made by Leopoldo di Medici in the seventeenth century to bring the Academy to life again, belong to another age, have another signification, and are of very slight importance in the history of science.*

Almost all those who have written on the Platonic Academy and on Ficino have contented themselves with carefully collecting biographical and literary anecdotes, which are things of very secondary value.† What chiefly

* Respecting these attempts, one may refer to the notices collected by Prof. A. Alfani, in his work, *Della Vita a degli Scritti di O. R. Ruccellai:* Firenze. Barbera, 1372. This author, however, endeavours to give Ruccellai a philosophic importance, which, in our opinion, he does not possess.

† We must make one exception in favour of a very brief but learned work by K. Sieveking *Die Geschichte der Platonischen Akademie zu Florenz*: Hamburg, Druck und Lithographie des Rauhen Hauses zu Horn, 1844. This fine monograph was published without the author's name, as an appendix to a valuable short history of Florence by the same writer. Most of his information regarding the Platonic Academy and Ficino is drawn from Ficino's own works. Of the Academy he makes special mention in his Epistles, and the Introduction or Commentary to his version of Plato's Symposium. Many notices are also to be found in Tiraboschi, in the Life of M. Ficino, written in Latin by Corsi, and in that of Lorenzo dei Medici, written by Roscoe and by Reumont; in A. M. Bandini's *Specimen Litteraturæ Florentinæ, sec. XV., etc.*: Florentia, 1747. This work is chiefly a biography of Cristoforo Landino, a follower of Ficino, and member of the Academy. Many notices too were collected by Leopoldo Galetti in his *Saggio intorno alta Vita ed agli Scritti di Marsilio Ficino*, published in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*: New Series, tome ix. 2nd issue, and tome x. 1st issue. For an exposition of Ficino's doctrines, see Ritter's

concerns us is to know the intrinsic merit of these doctrines, the reason of their immense popularity in the 15th century, and what was the talent of those who discovered and propagated them. Certainly when we consider the numerous group of Platonists collected round Ficino, it astonishes us to find that two only merit some respect as writers of philosophical works. One of these is Cristoforo Landino, the celebrated commentator of Dante and of Petrarch, an Hellenist of good repute, professor at the Studio and author of the *Disputationes Camaldulenses*,* in which he gives long and minute reports of the Platonic discussions. The other is Leon Battista Alberti, a first rate artist, poet, prose writer, scholar, scientist, a universal man, and the precursor of Leonardo da Vinci in the prodigious variety of his intellectual gifts. To these two were added the lesser lights: Donato Acciajoli, Antonio Carrigiani, Naldo Naldi, Peregrino Agli, Alamanno Rinuccini, Giovanni Cavalcanti, Ficino's most intimate friend, and many others. Yet among all these, without excepting even Landino and Alberti, not a single true philosopher is to be found: they all repeat the same ideas, and these ideas are

Geschichte der neuern Philosophie, part 1, book 2, chap. iv., and for the philosophy of those times in general, see also F. Schultze's *Geschichte der Philosophie der Rennaisance*: Jena, 1874.

* Of a Pratovecchio family, but born in Florence in 1424, learned in Greek and Latin, he was appointed teacher in the Studio in 1427. He was chancellor to the Guelph party; afterwards one of the secretaries of the Republic, an office which he held until 1497. Then on account of his age he retired to Pratovecchio, continuing to enjoy his stipend of 100 florins per annum until 1504, when he died at the age of eighty in a villa bestowed upon him by the Republic in recompense for his *Comento su Dante*, Tiraboschi, S.L.T. vol. vi., page 1065; Bandini, *Specimen*, etc.

Ficino's. It may certainly be remembered that Angelo Poliziano and Lorenzo di' Medici, both intellects of undoubted eminence, were also members of the Platonic Academy; but their writings all show them to be men of letters and not philosophers. Pico della Mirandola only appeared later as a propagator of Ficino's ideas, and neither had he any philosophical originality. But, few or many, of what matters did they speak, what and of what value were these doctrines which found so many and so ardent champions?

And the nearer we approach to them the more does our astonishment increase. In the summer of 1468* we find them in the pleasant convent of Camaldoli, whither they had gone to enjoy the country air, and hold the famous Camaldolensian disputes. There was Lorenzo di' Medici, Giuliano dei Medici, Cristoforo Landino and his brother, Alamanno Rinuccini, Leon Battista Alberti—then just come from Rome—and Marsilio Ficino. After hearing mass they went to sit in the shade of the forest trees, and there passed the first day in disputing on the contemplative and the active life. Alberti declared in favour of the former, supporting his preference by very commonplace arguments; while Lorenzo di' Medici held that both kinds of life were equally necessary. On the second day they spoke of the *Summum Bonum*, and we have a series of empty phrases and classical quotations. On the third

* Bandini says that these meetings were held in 1460; but Roscoe observes that Lorenzo dei Medici was only 12 years old at that time, and gives instead the date of 1468. *The Life of Lorenzo di' Medici, etc.*, chap. 11.

and fourth days Alberti demonstrated his platonic wisdom by a long commentary upon Virgil, endeavouring by means of the strangest allegories to prove that in the Æneid are to be found concealed the whole Platonic doctrine and the whole Christian doctrine, which, in his opinion, are at bottom one and the same thing. And these allegories, which moved Angelo Maria Bandini in reporting them to say that the Platonists often seemed to have lost their wits,* are exactly what they lay most stress upon, almost as though these formed a substantial part of their philosophy.

We will now glance at the speeches pronounced at one of the grandest banquets of the Academy, given by order of Lorenzo il Magnifico in the villa at Careggi, under the presidency of Messer Francesco Bandini. Here it is no less a personage than Ficino himself who gives a minute report of the proceedings.† The num-

* "Hoc pronunciare liberi possum, opiniones eorum tenebricosis allegoriarum involucris et dicendi, genere plusquam poetico, qui omnium fere academicorum mos erat, fuisse absconditas." After which he goes on to quote expressions which, as he justly observes, no man of sound mind would think of using.—*Specimen*, vol. xi., page 58.

† See the *Commentarium Marsilii Ficini, in Convivium Platonis de Amore*, which is added to his Latin translation of Plato. The banquets of the Platonic Academy seem to have been held in the villa at Careggi, generally presided over by Lorenzo the Magnificent, and in Florence under the presidency of Francesco Bandini. So says Aug. Maria Bandini (*Specimen*, vol. I., page 60-61), and so Ficino himself says in a letter to Jacopo Bracciolini, published in Bandini's *Specimen*, vol. I., page 62-63. "Platonici veteres urbana Platonis natalitia quotannis instaurabant; novi autem Platonici, Braccioline, et urbana et suburbana nostris temporibus celebrarunt; suburbana quidem apud Mag. Laurentium Medicem in agro Caregio. Cuncta in libro nostro de amore narrantur. Urbana vero Florentiae sumtu regio celebravit Franc. Bandinus vir ingenio, magnificentia excellens. . . ." At the town meeting, of which he here makes

ber of the guests was nine, in honour of the nine muses. Francesco Bandini, Antonio Agli, Bishop of Fiesole, Marsilio Ficino and his father, C. Landino, Bernardo Nuzzi, Giovanni Cavalcanti, Carlo and Cristoforo Marsuppini. The dinner over, Plato's *Symposium* was read aloud, and the discourses held in the house of Agathon were strangely expounded by the guests at Careggi. Phaedrus says in the *Symposium*, that love inspires heroism, was born directly after Chaos, and before the other gods, and is admired by all admirers of beauty. And this is Cavalcanti's commentary upon that passage: God, beginning and end of all the worlds, creates the angels, who in their turn, form the third essences out of the universal soul created by God. These essences are the souls of all things, and therefore also of the different worlds to which they give life, because the body is formed from the soul. When Chaos begins to assume shape, it feels a desire for beauty, which is love; and it is for this reason, according to Plato, that love precedes the other gods, who are identical with the angels. And

mention, the subject of discussion was the immortality of the soul. But the Careggi banquet of which Ficino gives such very minute details in his *Commentarium*, was by order of Lorenzo, who was then in Florence, presided over by Franc. Bandini. In fact, at the beginning of the first chapter he says :— "Plato philosophorum pater, annos unum et octoginta aetatis, natus septimo, novembris die, quo ortus fuerat, discumbens in convivio, remotis dapibus, expiravit. Hoc autem convivium, quo et natalitia et anniversaria Platonis pariter continentur, prisci omnes Platonici usque ad Plotini et Porphyrii tempora quotannis instaurabant Post vero Porphyrium mille ac ducentos annos, solennes hae dapes praetermissae fuerunt. Tandem nostris temporibus, vir clarissimus Laurentius Medices platonicum convivium innovaturus, Franciscum Bandinum Architriclinum constituit. Cum igitur septimum Novembris diem colere Bandinus instituisset, regis apparatu in agro Caregio novem platonicos accepit convivas."

hereupon Cavalcanti begins to show how the angels are identical with the ancient deities, and how the third essences are at the same time the ideas of Plato and the forms of Aristotle. But not content with this, he further asserts that the third essences, created by the angels, become in their turn identical with the ancient gods; nor is this sufficient, for such a confusion of ideas follows that we can no longer follow the author. Jove is heaven, Saturn and Venus are the two planets thus named; but they are likewise the third essences, or the souls of heaven, and of the two planets; they are the three divinities of the ancients, and also three angels; they are finally the soul of the world, inasmuch as it informs, moves, and generates.* What is chiefly clear in all this confusion is, that in the opinion of the Academicians, Christianity and Paganism ought to form one and the same thing with Platonism. Allegory is the key-stone of this edifice, or rather artifice, in which things do not mean what they are, but become symbols and emblems of other things, and as all this is arbitrary, so they can be made to signify anything that any one chooses.

Aristophanes, one of the speakers in the *Symposium*, says that, in the beginning, there were three sexes, male, female, and promiscuous, that is to say, individuals who were men and women at the same time, with two heads, four hands, &c. These beings tried to struggle against the gods, and were therefore divided into two halves, one of which is always seeking

* See Cavalcanti's two speeches in the *Commentarium*.

the other, hence it is only when united that lovers can be happy. If mortals, however, persist in their pride, they will be punished by a new division; it will then be curious, adds Aristophanes, to see them going about the world, with only half a head, one eye, one hand, one foot. Landino, who had to comment upon this strange discourse, does not seek the origin of the legend, nor its mythological explanation. The soul, he says, was created whole by God, furnished with divine light with which to look upon the higher things, with natural light, inborn, with which to look upon the lower. But man sinned by pride, wished to make himself equal with God, thinking that his natural, inborn light was sufficient for him; whereupon his thoughts were directed to corporeal things alone, and the original unity was broken. If he perseveres in his pride, trusting entirely to his natural light, he will be punished anew by losing that also.* This was the easy explanation of everything.

The last to speak is Cristoforo Marsuppini, who concludes by commenting on the very beautiful speech of Alcibiades, and the words which he, at the end of the *Symposium*, addresses to Socrates. The orator makes his commentary by expounding the ideas of Guido Cavalcanti upon love, and speaking of the *divine fury*, by means of which man, rising above his own nature, *in Deum transit.* By this God draws the soul, sunk in inferior things, once more upwards to the higher. And all terminates with an eulogium of Socratic love,

* *Commentarium*, Oratio IV.

and a hymn to divine love or the Holy Spirit, which has inspired the discussion, and illumined the Platonic orators.*

These philosophers, who tried to reconcile Paganism with Christianity, spirit with matter, the divine with the human, God with the world, being unable to discover the rational unity of all these things, reduced everything to symbols. Yet the great popularity and immense influence of this philosophy upon the literature and culture of the age, cannot be placed in doubt by any one; and it is impossible to deny its great historical importance. In fact, this philosophy was the result of a new method of comprehending the world, which comes out clearly enough, even amid the clouds of the wildest allegories. For the Platonists the world had become the great physical and moral cosmos, created by divine love, in the image of the God who dwells in it, and whom they regarded no longer as a living personality, but as the supreme unity of all, the universal spirit, the absolute. And owing to their labours this conception penetrates and permeates the literature of the second half of the fifteenth century, and serves to determine its character. Hence it is plain that Italian Platonism, without having much scientific value, is yet a highly important element of modern culture.

But fully to understand it, it is also requisite to fix our attention upon the works of the man who best knew

* *Commentarium*, &c., Oratio VII., chap. xvii. "Quomodo agendae sunt gratiae Spiritu Sancto, qui nos ad hanc disputationem illuminavit atque accendit."

how to formulate and teach it. Marsilio Ficino had a boundless admiration for all the philosophy of the ancients; he studied and tried to assimilate Plato, Aristotle, the Neo-Platonists, and every fragment he could find of quotations from Confucius, Zoroaster, &c. All that which they say is sacred to him, merely because it is ancient; and thus his writings become a huge congeries of different elements, without his ever discovering a true dominant and organic principle, upon which to build up a system, and earn a right to the title of an original philosopher.

The Neoplatonic allegories imported among us by G. Plethon and other Greeks formed the only means by which he could harmonise the different elements. Yet Ficino's proposed aim was a highly remarkable one, and affords us a glimpse of his philosophic importance. Amid the triumph of Pagan antiquity, he sees that Christianity cannot fall; but he also sees that the mere authority of the prophets, of the Bible, and of revelation, no longer suffices to maintain it and keep it alive in men's minds. Hence it was necessary to have recourse to reason, to true philosophy, *i.e.*, to ancient philosophy; and among the diverse systems, that which best lent itself to his object, was certainly the Platonian. Thus, as he himself declares, arose in his mind the notion of founding Christianity upon the Platonic doctrine, and even of proving that they were one and the same thing, that the one was the logical consequence of the other. At that time this appeared to be a new revelation, and therefore he burnt candles before

Plato, and adored him as a saint. In fact, in his book, *Della Religione Cristiana*, the most solid arguments that he can find in its favour are the answers of the Sibyls and the prophecies of the coming of Jesus Christ, to be found in Virgil, Plato, Plotinus, Porphyrius.

To him the life of Socrates is a continual symbol of the life of Jesus, the doctrines of the one are identical with those of the other. Thus antiquity received the benediction of Christianity, which in its turn was proved to be true by antiquity. What fact could be of higher concern to the learned of the fifteenth century? Ficino was so full of these ideas, so enthusiastic about them, that he sometimes seemed to look upon himself as the founder of a new religion rather than the inventor of a new system.

He wrote a large number of epistles, translations, and tractates in Latin; but the greatest and most solid monument to his fame was the first and, for a long time, the only good translation of Plato's works. At this he laboured unremittingly for a great part of his life, while meditating another work which was to be a systematic summary of the mass of his doctrines. Touching this, he tells us that he was long in uncertainty as to whether this work should be a philosophical exposition of the ancient Pagan religion, or a demonstration of Christianity, made with the assistance of ancient philosophy. The latter idea prevailed; nevertheless his new work was entitled *Platonic Theology*, which plainly shows the author's groove of thought. It is a vast and ill-arranged encyclopedia of learning, written

in a confused and colourless style, a defect observable in all his works, since, although he had consumed his whole life over the classics, the uncertainty of his ideas made it impossible for him to acquire any real originality or vigour of style. After careful examination of the *Theologia Platonica*, we might almost say that the materials accumulated in it are, as it were, beginning to ferment, and that in consequence certain assimilations take place, of which the author is unaware. In fact, there is in it something which may be called a result of the thought of the age, an impersonal progress in science, of which Ficino himself appears to be rather the instrument than the author. The question of the *consulto* or *non-consulto agit* in nature is, from the commencement, that around which all the others are grouped, and it is solved in the same manner as by Gemistos Plethon. He finds in the world two different categories of souls. The first consists of intellectual, universal souls; the other of sensitive, mortal, but also reasoning souls. These, which he calls the *third essences* of things, are to be found throughout nature, which they animate. The earth, light, air, the planets, have each their third essence, and that explains why the earth produces plants, the water fish, &c. The third essences are also divided into twelve orders, according to the twelve constellations of the zodiac; but these are united, and are mingled together to form souls or third essences of a more general character. Thus in our own planet, water, earth, and air has each its own third essence; but this planet has also its special,

more general, third essence which embraces all the others.

Then, too, man has two souls, one rational and sensitive, the third essence of the body, which dies; the other intellectual, immortal, directly infused from God. By means of this, the creature finds himself in relation with the Creator and with the possibility of coming into contact with Him; in this are mirrored all the others, which breathe life into the universe. Thus man is a microcosm; he can descend to the animals, to inanimate nature, and rise to the angels, to God who speaks to him and guides him. Then, too, the stars, planets, even the stones have, by their third essences, direct influence over man's passions, man's destiny. And thus is demonstrated the truth of the occult sciences, in which Ficino had an almost childish belief. His continual melancholy was attributed by him to the influence of Saturn; and every day he was careful to change the amulets which he always wore upon his person. He wrote a treatise on all these things, entitled—*De vita cœlitus comparenda*,* which must be read in order to understand the point reached by the superstitious prejudices of a very learned man, and of a very advanced age. The faith in occult sciences cherished by the most remarkable men of the Renaissance, is another of the numerous contradictions we find in that period. Yet, on carefully considering the question, we perceive that this faith was fed by the need of replacing supernatural by natural explanations, even when science was impotent

* Lugduni, 1567.

to find them. If we now glance at this philosophy of Ficino's in its entirety, there clearly stands out an irresistible tendency to such an universal and rational soul, which, in his writings, seems in fact to be confounded with the world and with God Himself. His third essences, are identical with the ideas of Plato in an Aristotelian shape, which are afterwards united in more general souls, and how was it possible that they should not all be united in one soul? Is not the world, according to Ficino's own words, a great living animal? Has not nature a rational soul which *consulto agit?* Only in presence of these natural, inevitable consequences of his own premisses, our author stops himself, as it were, in affright, because he *must* accept and explain creation from the void, and cannot renounce the personal God of Christianity.

When, however, he begins to give a philosophical explanation of creation, he always returns to the same ideas, and again approaches the consequences from which he rebels. God conceives (and in the Divine mind conception is equivalent to creation) the sensitive soul of things, and the angelic immortal soul. With this He forms the angels, and by their means creates the third essences which are too far beneath Him for Him to condescend to directly create them. But in man, besides the third essences, or soul of the body, there is also an immortal one directly infused by God, and by means of which the creature comes in contact with the Creator. In short, Ficino's creation is an emanation; his God is the soul and the unity of the

world, indeed, the only definition he can give of it is the absolute unity of all things. Pantheism, the logical consequence of this system, was, in the very atmosphere of the fifteenth century, which found no other way of reconciling God and nature, the Divine and the human. Already scientifically sketched out by Cusano, and rendered popular by Ficino, it was afterwards lucidly formulated and maintained by Bruno. Cusano and Bruno, however, were real thinkers and philosophers, while Ficino was merely a learned man who wrote on philosophy without much originality. The Pantheistic idea showed itself in his works in an indistinct, confused, almost unconscious manner; but it was precisely this that proved it to be an outcome of the general need of the time, caused its instant popularity, and made it penetrate deeply into literature. In the verses of Lorenzo the Magnificent, of Poliziano, of Alberti, in many even of the contemporaneous prose writers, we see the personal God changed into the absolute, the world is the great cosmos which it inhabits and animates; nature herself, no longer despised, becomes almost divine. And this transformation, as we have already said, was the work of Ficino and the Platonic Academy. Both vanished without establishing a new system, but they left instead a new method of looking upon the world, and a new conception of the Deity.

Ficino's enthusiastic ardour in expounding the new doctrines, found a wide echo both in Italy and abroad. Students came from all parts of the world to attend the lectures he gave at the Studio. Many Englishmen

carried back to their country Italian Hellenism; Reuchlin himself, in passing through Florence, was more than ever converted to the new ideas, which met with great favour in Germany, where the reform began by the individual interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and by placing the believer in direct communication with his Creator, without the need of any mediator: in Italy, on the contrary, the results of learning always remained merely literary and scientific.

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, so celebrated throughout Europe, was known among us by the name of the intellectual Phœnix, on account of the knowledge attributed to him of twenty-two languages, of his great learning and extraordinary memory. To these gifts he united much goodness of character and an amiable and attractive appearance, and although of princely family, he had abandoned everything for his studies. Excited by the praises showered upon him, and by a philosophy which pretended to embrace the whole universe in its allegories, he proposed a strange species of scientific tournament, which was to be held in Rome. He had summed up all knowledge in nine hundred conclusions, on each of which he declared himself prepared to make a reply to scholars from all parts, whom he invited to discuss with him, promising to pay the travelling expenses of all those who were poor. The experiment was prevented from taking place by the difficulties raised by the Pope, to whose authority Giovanni Pico was always most submissive. But notwithstanding his great reputation, this scholar's intellect was substantially

but little different from that of Ficino's other followers. His acquirements, though extensive, were superficial, his judgments dictated rather by enthusiasm than critical faculty. He considered the poems of Lorenzo dei Medici superior to those of Dante and Petrarch. Of the majority of the twenty-two languages he was supposed to have studied, he knew little more than the alphabet and the elements of grammar. He was, however, one of the first promoters of Oriental studies, as well as one among the best of Greek and Latin scholars. But neither his Italian and Latin writings, much less his philosophy, show any marks of originality. He tried to reconcile Averhoes and Avicenna, Scotus and St Thomas, Plato and Aristotle, in order to combat the enemies of the Church. This, of necessity, brought about his union with Ficino, who desired to fight "the religion of ignorance and the philosophy of unbelief." At first a friend of the Medici, he ended by becoming an enthusiastic admirer of Savonarola, and was buried in the Church of St. Mark, shrouded, according to his last wish, in the frock of the Dominican friars.* He ceased to live in 1494, a memorable year in the history of Italy, and of all Europe. Platonists and learned men now disappeared very rapidly from the scene, and the national literature, so long in course of preparation, began to shine forth itself in all its new brilliancy.

* See my *Storia di G. Savonarola*, etc., book i., chap. v.

7. Revival of Italian Literature.

In the fifteenth century our vulgar tongue had much decayed, chiefly by fault of the men of learning, who either wrote in Latin or contorted Italian into an artificial imitation of Latin. In the year 1441, on the occasion of the stay of Pope Eugene IV. in Florence, a grand literary meeting took place in the Cathedral under the name of *Academia Coronaria*, because a silver crown was offered to him who should read the best Italian verses upon friendship. And after all the prize could not be adjudged to any of the competitors, and so wretched were these verses that to this day no one can read them without amazement at their corrupt taste and puerile artifice. Still it would be a mistake to suppose that all had given up writing in the vulgar tongue. Italian songs composed by writers of little note, but many in number, were sung by the people both in town and country, and many familiar letters, tales, romances and chronicles were also written in Italian. It was a literature chiefly made for the people, and in which the people took part in many ways, without one being able to call it popular in the strict sense of the word. And throughout the fifteenth century it continued to increase in importance, until the men of learning also forsook Latin, and returning to Italian, thus initiated a second epoch in the history of our letters. The Platonists may be included among those who first returned to the vulgar tongue. Cristoforo Landino had materially assisted in this, promoting by his commentaries the study of Dante and Petrarch. But

to Leon Battista Alberti must be awarded a still more honourable post. Born in 1404 at Venice, whither his family had been exiled, he soon proved himself a most remarkable man. Of very rare strength and beauty, he succeeded as admirably in all bodily exercises as in all mental labour. Accomplished in music, singing and the arts of design, he was versed in letters and had studied the moral, as well as the mathematical or natural sciences, in which many discoveries are attributed to him.* Landino, Poliziano,† and others exalt not only the universality of his genius, but also, which is more noteworthy, his singular merit in promoting the study and use of Italian. This, too, is plainly shewn in his works, although many disputes have arisen concerning them. Some of Alberti's verses have certainly a singular freshness and spontaneity‡ which would excite surprise, had not Poliziano and Lorenzo di Medici already warned us that the Italian muse was now awaking, animated by a new spirit, and almost born again to a second youth. His prose is still very artificial in its

* See the *Commentario alla Vita di L. B. Alberti*, in the fourth volume of Vassari, Le Monnier edition, Tiraboschi, S. L. T. vol. vi., page 414 and fol.; the edition of L. B. Alberti's *Opere*, edited by Bonucci and published in Florence (Tip. Galileiana) in 1843 and following years. This edition includes a Life of Alberti by an anonymous author. See also the *Elogi di L. B. Alberti* in the works of G. B. Nicolini, Le Monnier edition, 1843, vol. iii., page 401 and fol.; the *Elogio* written by Pozzetti, published in Florence in 1789, and finally *Gli Alberti di Firenze, Genealogia*, ecc., recently brought out by Cav. L. Passerini in two large and elegant volumes, by commission of the Duc de Lugnes. Florence, Cellini, 1870.

† See Bandini's *Specimen*, vol. i., page 164; Tiraboschi's S. L. T., vol. vi., page 420, in which a letter by Poliziano is given.

‡ See the *Opere* of Alberti and Trucchi's *Poesie Italiane inedite*. Prato, 1846-47, vol. ii., page 335.

imitation of Latin; yet one work entitled *La cura della famiglia* merits special mention, particularly its third book, *L'Economico* or *Il Padre di famiglia*, in which a good father of a family and the best way of ruling a household is carefully described. This is almost a separate work, and in a preface to it, Alberti takes the defence of the Italian language which he declares to be in no wise inferior to the Latin,* and promises to try and make use of a "bare and simple style" ("stile nudo e semplice.") Certainly, in this book his prose is far more spontaneous and familiar than usual; the author seems to wish to return to the golden simplicity of the Trecento.

L'Economico is generally known in the much freer and more popular form given to it by Agnolo Pandolfini under the title of *Del Governo della famiglia*, and in this form it is one of the finest monuments of our national literature. It is maintained by some that Pandolfini copied and improved on Alberti, but this is denied by others. What is certain is that the former writes in familiar Italian, in a rich and graphic style, not always free from grammatical errors, while Alberti in correcting these errors, obscures the golden simplicity of him who appears to be his precursor. In his language one perceives the mixture of the popular and learned styles, but the two elements are not always well combined. If Alberti decided on imitating and almost copying the work of another, this only is additional proof that the book expressed the feelings and opinions of the period, which gives it importance not only in the

* Alberti, *Opere*, vol. ii., page 221 and fol.

history of our language and literature, but also in that of Italian society.*

The *Governo della famiglia* is the work of a man who lived between the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, and who, after taking part in political struggles, retired disgusted to the country to devote himself to composition. Thus we have a faithful description of the social, moral, and intellectual condition of Italians in the fifteenth century, such as we search for in vain in the pages of history. In particular, we find a profound disgust of political life, "that life of insults, envy, passions, and suspicions." † The Italian spirit already feels condemned to fall back upon itself, without finding in its own conscience the comfort of religious life. Virtue seems to be nothing but the result of an almost artistic well being, "it is all gaiety and grace." ‡ All that is desired is to have the mind undisturbed by any cupidity, repentance, or grief; § honesty is woman's finest *ornament;* vice makes her vulgar and ugly. ‖ In this book the new tendencies

* This book, generally held to be the work of Pandolfini, was afterwards attributed to Alberti, especially by Signor F. Palermo, who took up the question so hotly and exaggerated so much in his *Prolegomini* added to the *Padre di famiglia* (Florence, tipografia Cenniniana scientifica, 1872) as to entirely forget the method and limits of scientific criticism. Pandolfini died before Alberti, and it is hard to imagine that he would have copied from learned prose and not only turned it into familiar spoken Italian, but introduced idioms and ungrammatical expressions where none existed before. The question has, however, now been treated at length in a thesis written by Signor A. Cortesi, student at the Instituto Superior of Florence, which we hope soon to see in print.

† Pandolfini, *Trattato del governo della famiglia*, p. 21; Venice, Gondoliere Printing Press, 1841.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 5. § *Ibid.*, p. 14. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

infused by Platonism in the Italian mind are very apparent. Virtue, in fact, proceeds from a necessary law of our nature, not from the command of any superior authority. When the head of the family marries, he leads his wife before the household shrine to the Madonna, and there kneeling down together, they pray not to the virgin nor the saints, but to the Most High. Neither do they supplicate for happiness in the other world, but only that it may be given to them to enjoy the goods of this life. The wife must know how to govern her household with tact and gentleness, in order to maintain general harmony, and ensure general well-being. Reading these things is like looking upon one of Masaccio's or Lippi's pictures. There is no effort towards the Infinite, there is a quiet, self-contented harmony, which is like the universal principle of life as Italians then understood it. Every little detail of the picture brings before our eyes the democracy of Florence, with its refinement and civil equality. Whereas in almost all the rest of Europe the peasant was still the slave of the soil, here he had already become his master's torment. He wants an ox, a cow, or sheep to be bought for him; wants to have his debts paid; asks for a dowry for his daughter; to have a house built and the furniture provided; and withal, is never contented.*

But the founts of the new literature are many in number; and while speaking only of prose, we must mention the political and diplomatic correspondences which, in this century, became one of the most notable

* Pandolfini, *Trattato del governo della famiglia*, p. 42.

branches of our literature. These were not written as displays of rhetoric, but for the purpose of conducting affairs to a given end; therefore they soon attained remarkable simplicity, spontaneity, and lucidity.

In the recently published *Commissioni* of Rinaldo degli Albizzi,* we notice the writer's efforts to graft the uncultivated language of the people upon the Latin periods of the learned. But in the letters of Lorenzo di Medici, these efforts are at an end, and the new political prose has triumphed over every difficulty without however concealing its two original elements. Of these letters, Guicciardini himself speaks in the highest praise.† They show on the one hand the admirable prudence with which Lorenzo sought to maintain the political balance of Italy, the great authority exercised by him over all the States of the Peninsula, and on the other, the popular ease with which this disciple of Ficino, and Poliziano knew how to write. When Ferdinand of Naples wished to form a special alliance with the Pope, Lorenzo immediately sets to work to prevent "this spark of change in Italy,"‡ and a general peace is concluded instead. When his daughter Maddalena marries Francesco Cibo, the Pope's natural son, he instantly gives notice that he does not intend

* These have been published in two vols. by the *Società di Storia Patria:* Florence, Cellini, 1867-69, and go from the year 1399 down to 1433.

† In his *Storia Fiorentina.*

‡ A. Desjardin, *Négociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane* (3 vols., 4to): Paris, 1859-65, Imprimerie Impériale, vol. i., p. 214. It is only just to mention that the chief part of these documents were discovered by an Italian, G. Canestrini.

to form any compacts to the hurt of the general peace of Italy, nor to make far stretching plans for the future, since it is better "to think day by day, and dance in time to the music that one hears." * When the Pope wished to call the Duke of Lorraine into Italy, Lorenzo uses every effort to prevent it, alleging the many dangers it would bring about, and reminding his Holiness "that human hands cannot hold the reins of fortune." The Duke of Milan, Lodovico il Moro, always uncertain, changeable, and ambitious, who hourly caused fresh complications, must be treated, says Lorenzo, as suits his nature, namely, by giving way to him as long as is possible without danger; but in such a way "as to remain in the saddle even if he should try to fling out." Therefore is it all the more necessary to keep on friendly terms with the Venetians, "so as always to have some anchors in the sea.‡

And when his son Giovanni, who at the age of seventeen years had been for some time a cardinal, is starting for Rome, Lorenzo warns him of the dangers to which he will be exposed in that very corrupt city, and reminds him that union with the Church is useful to Florence, and that "the interest of our family goes with that of the city, so that you ought to be a good link in the matter; and at all events there should not fail you the means of saving both the goat and the cabbages, as the saying goes." § This easy, familiar, vigorous style of prose soon became

* Fabroni, *Vita Laurentii Medicis*, Pisis, 1784, vol. ii., p. 312, note 179.
† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 359, note 206. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 363.
§ Fabroni calls this letter the song of the swan, *tanquam cycnea fuit*, because Lorenzo died soon afterwards (vol. ii., p. 308, note 178).

very general in Tuscany, and Lorenzo di Medici was one of the first to make use of it, as he was also one of the first to write verses in the vulgar tongue. In the fourteenth century, two different styles of poetry had been grafted one upon the other, which can even now be easily distinguished in the sonnets and canzonets of that time, and even in the *Divina Commedia* itself.

The one was simple, clear, natural—an inspiration which, if not wholly popular, was certainly much nearer to the people than the other poetry, which was artificial, allegorical, scholastic, courtly, of the French or Provençal school. Out of this union of different elements, the national genius, even then assisted by classical studies, had extracted a new literature. And this easily penetrated among the people, who, fascinated and carried away by an art beyond their own efforts, and yet entirely to their taste, and fitted to their comprehension, had little longer need of other songs, and other tales. But towards the end of the fourteenth century literary men wrote in Latin, and the people, who, amid their struggles for liberty, had made much progress in civilization, had once more to provide for themselves. Throughout the Tuscan land were then heard new songs, new *rispetti*, new roundelays,* while

* We have already seen in Pandolfini, that the Italian peasantry, and more especially the Tuscan, who are here in question, were in the fifteenth century superior in culture and prosperity to those of the rest of Europe. The novel writers, like Sacchetti, for instance (*see* Novelle 88 and 202), frequently speak of shrewd, well-to-do peasants. In the *Beca di Dicomano*, in which the author, Pulci, describes peasant life, a peasant says to his sweetheart :—"Thou knowest that I am ignorant and worthy—and I have cattle, and houses, and land. If thou wouldst take me, I would take thee."—*See also* Burkhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, 1st edition, p. 356.

in the towns there was a prodigious crop of novels, tales, and knightly adventures, which had travelled to us from France, besides sacred representations or mysteries. And all these were naturally in the vulgar tongue.

A few Rispetti, a few Strambotti, and a certain number of songs really issued from the heart of the people. To this day they are still to be heard in the villages of Tuscany, where, as D'Ancona observes, they are like echoes of the last creative efforts of a nation on the point of losing its liberty.* But there are many others, besides tales of chivalry, and sacred and profane plays, which cannot be called popular creations, since they were generally the compositions of public story-tellers, who, although belonging to the class for which they wrote, possessed a certain amount of rough and imperfect culture. In these, many classical reminiscences and tricks of rhetoric are to be found, but very seldom the true impulsiveness of the popular vein. Still these works have a certain simplicity, and even a certain ingenious delicacy of feeling, which attest their semi-popular origin, and recall the fact that in those times the higher classes and men of cultivation were much more corrupt than the people. While the learned men were employed upon works like the *Ermafrodito*,† the *Invettive*, and obscenities of every descrip-

* A. D'Ancona, *La Poesie Popolare Fiorentina nel Secolo*, xv.

† This work was published in the *Rivista Contemporanea* of Turin, vol. xxx. No. 106, September 1862. *See also* Carducci's remarks in his preface to the volume, *Le Rime, le Stanze e l'Orfeo* of A. Poliziano: Florence, Barbèra, 1863. These two writers are those who have gone most thoroughly into the subject of ancient popular Italian poetry.

tion, the story-tellers narrated the fantastic feats of knights-errant, the unhappy loves of Hippolitus and Dianora, and their heroic self-devotion;* the sorrows of Ginevra degli Almieri, who, coming out of the tomb in which she has been buried alive, is not recognised either by her husband or her own mother, who both refuse her shelter. Her first lover, from whom she had been forcibly torn, is the only one who sees that she is really flesh and blood, and who now joyfully gives her refuge.

"Mischiando la letizia col dolore."†

Italian poetry of the fifteenth century was chiefly based by the *literati* on what was generally, if somewhat incorrectly known as popular poetry. And certainly among us the songs of men of letters and those of the people are so much intermingled, and exercise so much reciprocal influence, that even for the most acute and intelligent critics it is often extremely difficult to disentangle the one from the other. But in any case, one of the first, not merely to protect, but to promote and cultivate the new poetry, was Lorenzo di Medici. To one who founded a tyranny by leaning on the people in opposition to the nobility, it was highly convenient to make himself also a popular poet, particularly in a city like Florence, where intellectual dominion was the firmest basis of political power. In fact the woodcuts of the period represent Lorenzo singing verses to the populace.

* This legend is also to be found in the works of Leon Battista Alberti.

† Republished by A. D'Ancona (Pisa, Nistri, 1863). *See, too,* the three volumes of *Sacre Rappresentazioni dei Secoli,* xiv., xv., and xvi., by the same author, Florence, Le Monnier, 1872.

In order to do justice to Lorenzo's literary merit, it is by no means necessary to join in the extravagant flights of Roscoe and Ruth, who try to prove him a genius.* In his poetry, as in everying else, he displayed great knowledge of human nature and a fine taste, without, however, having sufficient elevation of mind to reach the heights of art. This too is shown by his own account of his earliest inspirations. On the death of the beautiful Simonetta, the beloved of Giuliano di Medici, many poets, among them Poliziano,† wrote verses in her honour. Lorenzo, in order to do something of the same kind, feigned to have lost his lady love, but then sought for a living one, whom he found in Lucrezia Donati,‡ a beautiful and spirited young girl, and immediately applied himself to the composition of love songs. But this did not prevent him from making arrangements in Rome for his marriage with Clarice Orsini. His mother Lucrezia Tornabuoni, writing at this time to her husband, Piero di Medici, speaks of the bride in the following terms:—, "She is of seemly stature and of fair complexion, and has sweet manners, if less gracious than ours; she has great modesty, and so will soon fall in with our customs. Her hair is not fair, for there is no such thing here;

* Far juster is the judgment of Gino Capponi in his *Storia della Repubblica fiorentina*, and of Baron de Reaumont in his work *Lorenzo dei Medici:* Leipsic, 1873. Carducci has frequently written with great originality of Lorenzo's poetic faculty and temperament, but in our opinion he praises him rather too highly.

† *Dum pulchra effertur nigro Simonetta feretro Blandus et examini spirat in ore lepos, etc.*

‡ *Comento di Lorenzo di Medici sopra alcuni dei suoi Sonetti, nel fine delle sue poesie volgari* (Edition of 1554). See also Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo di Medici*, chap. 11.

her tresses incline to red, and she has great abundance of them. Her visage inclines to be rather round, but it does not displease me. Her throat is well turned, but seems to me somewhat thin. Her bosom we cannot see, for it is here the fashion to wear it covered up, but it appears to be of good quality. Her hand is long and slender, and altogether we rate the maiden much above the common."* And after this minute description of the bride's physique, she has not a word to say of her mind, talents, or character. Lorenzo, on his marriage day, 4th June 1469, at the age of twenty-one, wrote these words in his Ricordi†; "I have taken a wife, or rather she was given to me" (Tolsi donna . . . ovvero mi fu data), and his verses show him to be the true son of his mother. At the age of seventeen, he described the lips, eyes, and hair of his mistress, praised the mountains, the flowery meadow, the river, the rustic solitudes, in which he could gaze upon her image far from the noise of towns. Even at that time we find fine taste and ease in his verses, which are written in a spontaneous, and sometimes too popular a manner: he describes nature and the actual world with the graphic power of a keen observer. These qualities were afterwards still more conspicuous in Lorenzo's various compositions, for he had a genuine admiration for the beautiful, loved country life, and was a true artist and painter of the outer world. To his descrip-

* *Tre lettere di Lucrezia Tornabuoni a Piero dei Medici, ed altre lettere di vari concernenti al matrimonio di Lorenzo il Magnifico con Clarici Orsini.* Marriage album collected by Cesare Guasti. Florence, Le Monnier, 1859.

† Reprinted by Roscoe, in the Appendix to his Life of Lorenzo, Doc. xii.

tive power he unites in his *Beoni* a mordant and satiric spirit; but the special characteristics of his poetry are chiefly apparent in his *Canzoni a ballo* taken from popular sources and given in their real form, and in his *Canti Carnascialeschi* of which barely the germ existed, and to which he gave a place in literature, thus becoming the creator of that description of verse.

The ruling idea in these poems is: enjoy your life to-day, give yourselves up to pleasure, and take no thought for the morrow. Young men, be not timid with women, and you

> "Arrendetevi, belle,
> A'vostri innamorati,
> Rendete e' cuor furati,
> Non fate guerra al maggio."*

The keen politician who wished to stupefy his people in the gross sensuality, to which he himself gave way, here shows his nature openly, with great impulsiveness of style and freshness of form. But here, too, we see that his is an art of corruption, carrying its own condemnation on its face. If in his *Canzoni a ballo* (songs for dancing), he contents himself with the pleasures of idleness and of a life of sensuality, in the *Canti Carnascialeschi*, he goes much further. Some of these bring before us with much gaiety, mythological figures that are full of life; others again describe indecencies too horrible to be mentioned in these days, and which were then openly sung in the public thoroughfares, the acknow-

* The Canzone begins thus:—

> "Ben venga maggio
> E 'l gonfalon selvaggio."

ledged works of a prince who had gained the admiration of the whole civilised world. He was accustomed to direct the carnival festivities and masquerades, calling sculptors and painters * to his assistance to enhance their brilliancy, and using elegance of taste as an engine for the corruption of manners. He had music composed on purpose to accompany his obscene songs. He associated with the *literati*, artists, and populace, and was the soul and leader of the bacchanalian revels. Still it must be confessed that Lorenzo, by taking up the different kinds of poetry he found diffused among the people, and endowing them with artistic dignity, made himself the promoter of a literary revolution, in which, although surpassed by some of his contemporaries, he himself took a very high standing.† '

But the principal reviver of Italian poetry in the fifteenth century was Angelo Ambrogini of Monte Pulciano, called Poliziano. Born the 14th July 1454, he was, up to 1474, a student in the Florentine Studio, where he followed the teachings of Ficino, Andronicus, Argiropulos, and Landino. At the age of sixteen he had already begun a translation of Homer, which made Ficino give him the name of the Homeric child, and secured to him the lasting protection of Lorenzo, who received him into his own palace, and made him tutor to

* Vasari, in his *Vita di Piero di Cosimo*, tells us of the care with which these fetes, which long continued in Florence, were arranged, and declares them to be *things to sharpen men's wits*. *Canti Carnascialeschi* by different authors were afterwards collected in two volumes by Lasca : Fiorenza 1559.

† See the remarks of Carducci in his fine *Prefazione alle Poesie di Lorenzo:* Florence, Barbera.

his son Piero.* At twenty-nine years he was professor of Greek and Latin eloquence in the Studio, and his lessons were attended not only by Italians like Pico della Mirandola and the Medici themselves, but by foreigners of all nations. Soon after, in 1486, he was named canon of the cathedral. In a short time his fame filled all Italy, and even crossed the Alps. He showed very great critical acumen in his *Miscellanea*, particularly in his collations of old texts. Afterwards, too, in collating the edition of the *Pandects*, published at Venice in 1450, with the Laurentian Codex known as the *Pandects of Amalfi*, he made certain observations which, although overpraised, yet show the great aid philosophy can render to jurisprudence.† Poliziano's best productions are undoubtedly his poems, and often the finest introductory addresses which he delivered in the chair were nothing but Latin verses, in the composition of which he was unrivalled, even in his early youth. At the age of eighteen he had earned praise by his Greek verses; but had taken the world by storm with his Latin elegy on the death of Albiera degli Albizzi. In this the pagan feeling for beauty of form, and the ethereal grace of the painters of the Quattrocento seem to be blended together; the Italian language

* Isidoro del Lungo, *Uno scolare dello Studio fiorentino*, a memoir published in the *Nuova Antologia of Florence*, vol. X., page 215, and fol. By the same author see *La Patria e gli antenati di Angelo Poliziano* in the *Archivio storico Italiano*, Series III., vol. XI., page 9 and fol.

† Professor Bonamici of Pisa has examined the notes on the Pandects of his work *Il Poliziano Giureconsulto* (Pisa), Nistri, 1863, and has endeavoured to reduce the author's merit within its just limits.

fused with the Latin, which, in spite of being a dead tongue, has here the freshness of a living and spoken language. It would seem as though the breath of popular Italian song inspired new life into the man of learning, and enabled him to endow his Latin with the primitive spontaneity of the Greek. In this elegy we find the same unapproachable elegance, the same wealth of description, the same somewhat artificial diction as in his immortal Italian stanzas. Very beautiful are the last words of the dying woman to her husband, who, with terror-stricken eyes is watching the ever-increasing pallor stealing over the countenance of the loved one who

Illius aspectu morientia lumina pascit,

and already feels herself being borne away to another life:

. . . . Heu! nostro torpet in ore sonus;
Heu rapior! Tu vive mihi, tibi mortua vivam.
Caligant oculi iam mihi morte graves.

These gifts, which Poliziano possessed from the first, grew ever riper, as may be seen by many of his later poems, especially in that on the death of the fair Simonetta, and the very fine one upon violets.* In

* *Molles o violae, Veneris munuscula nostrae,*
Dulce quibus tanti pignus amoris inest;
Quae vos, quae genuit tellus? quo nectare odoras
Sparserunt Zephyri mollis et aura comas?
Vos ne in acidaliis aluit Venus aurea campis?
Vos ne sub Idalio pavit Amor nemore?
His ego crediderim citharas ornare corollis,
Permessi in roseo margine Pieridas.
Hoc flore ambrosios incingitur Hora capillos,
Hoc tegit indociles Gratia blanda sinus,
Hoc Aurora suae nectit redimicula fronti,
Cum roseum verno pandit ab axe diem, &c., &c.

reading these lines, more classical than any before written by the men of learning, the reader, sometimes almost carried away, may fancy he sees the Latin transforming itself into the new and lovely flower of Italian poetry, which in truth is budding to life again beneath his eyes. For now, in fact, the Italian chrysalis breaks through the Latin sheath in which it had so long been hidden, and at last comes forth into the sunlight.

Poliziano has earned immortality in the history of our literature, by the *Stanzas* written by him for the Joust of Giuliano di Medici, and which signalise the commencement of the second and not less splendid period of Italian poetry. They form the beginning of a poem that breaks off at the forty-sixth octave of the second book, interrupted, very probably, by the murder of Giuliano in the Pazzi plot.* The work, however, is not of a nature to lose much by being left unfinished, as it is totally wanting in unity and epic matter, so that it is very hard to divine how the poet would have continued or finished it. Its great merit consists in its

* It was generally believed that these *Stanze* were written in 1469, that is when Poliziano was only fifteen years of age. The mistake arose through confounding the Joust of Lorenzo with that of Giuliano. The former was really given in 1469, and was described by Luca Pulci, say some, by his brother Luigi, say others. In any case, it is a work of little merit and very artificial. The poet says to Lorenzo: "Thy victory (in the tilting match) has naught to envy of the victories of Æmilius, Marcellus, Scipio; thou hast well earned the honour:

Di riportar te stesso in su la chioma,

i.e., laurels upon Lauro's head." The Joust of Giuliano was instead given the 28th January 1475, and was described by Poliziano, who was then twenty-one. All this has been brought to light by Professor Del Lungo. See his own words given in Carducci's preface to Poliziano's Poems, p. 29.

limpid, elegant style, which has an incomparable freshness. Carducci justly observes that the octavo rhyme, which, in Boccaccio, was diffuse; in Pulci, diluted; in Lorenzo dei Medici, harsh and unequal; acquires in Poliziano's poetry the unity, harmony, colour, variety, and character which it has ever since preserved. Placed between the original primitive literature of the Trecento, and the more varied, refined, yet still imitative literature that flourished in the Cinquecento, it unites the vigour of the one with the grace of the other, thus resembling those masters of the Quattrocento, who improved upon the painting of Giotto, and perfected the technicalities of their art without falling into the conventionalities which so quickly arose in the Cinquecento. But we must remember that all this is only true as regards form, since, as to substance, Poliziano certainly has neither the elevation nor vigour of Dante, nor the imagination of Ariosto. But it is a form which may be called poetry itself, since it always draws nature with unapproachable elegance. Poliziano's women are neither as mystic and ethereal as Dante's, nor as sensuous as Ariosto's; they have, however, a delicious delicacy and sweetness; they recall the pictured forms of Lippi and Ghirlandaio. The fair Simonetta stands out in the Stanze a real and visible woman, yet she does not lack ideal beauty:

"Ridegli attorno tutta la foresta,

. . . . .

L'aer d'intorno si fa tutto ameno,
Ovunque gira le luci amorose." *

* *Stanze*, book i., pp. 43, 44.

The poet seeks only reality, but it is always an elegant and gracious reality. His images, freed from mediæval mysticism, seem to make use of the mythological garb in which they are often enfolded, to cover without hiding the forms of the body from which they are never separated. Their nudity appears from time to time adorned with classic enamel of a Pagan freshness that is specially characteristic of the Renaissance.

Whoever, after reading in the *Vita Nuova* or the *Divina Commedia*, the descriptions of Beatrice, ever on the point of transformation into theology, turns to Poliziano's ballad and reads:

"La brunettina mia
Con l'acqua della fonte
Si lava il dì la fronte
E il seren petto," ecc.,

will immediately perceive the distance traversed, and will appreciate the change that has taken place.

Poliziano raised the popular Rispetti and Strambotti to a new dignity, and with so much taste and elegance, "that for the first time perhaps in poetry," says Carducci, "he gave an Attic impress to Florentine idioms, and artistic finish to familiar expressions."* The ballad too which already in the Trecento had received a literary form, and thus embellished had remained popular, serving as a model for the many sacred Laudi composed

* See the Prefazione to Poliziano's poems, page cxvii. D'Ancona is of opinion that the *Rispetti* still sung among the hills of Tuscany, are, at least in their general characteristics, the same that the Medician school took from the people, in order to give them back dressed in a more literary shape. And thus by force of custom the people have gone on singing them to this day.—*Rivista Contemporanea* quoted above.

during the fifteenth century, and even for the songs of Lorenzo di Medici who endowed them with a new literary garb, was now raised by Poliziano almost to the dignity of the Ode, without losing any of its primitive simplicity.* Although in these lyrics we meet with sensual allusions which remind us of Lorenzo's companion, the poet never forsakes decency in the same fashion as his Mæcænas. In his *Orfeo* he also made an attempt at drama; but his dialogue is sometimes lyric, without ever rising to a true display of the passions. Dramatic poetry is born late in the life of a nation, that is, only when the national spirit and national tongue have reached a healthy and vigorous maturity. Italy had barely touched this point when she fell a prey to foreign invaders, who destroyed her institutions and prevented her from finding, in this essentially national kind of poetry, a way of escape out of the Latin travesty, from which she had so often before freed herself.

And Poliziano, in spite of his fine taste, which was almost Greek, was not in any case a man capable of rising to real dramatic elevation, or of creating the theatre required by us. And we have only to remember the courtier's life that he led, to understand why his genius could take no lofty flights. Often our indignation is excited by seeing the author of so many beautiful verses condescending to write others full of the most fawning adulation. This it is impossible to pardon him, even when we remember the depth and sincerity of his affection for his patron. He was standing by Lorenzo's side when the conspiracy

* Carducci, *Prefazione*, ecc., page cxxv.

of the Pazzi broke out; he was the first to close the door of the sacristy as soon as his master was safely within it; on Lorenzo's return from his perilous Neapolitan journey, he welcomed him with very beautiful Latin verses, such as might be addressed by a lover to his mistress; and on Lorenzo's death he lamented him in words of intense grief, and quickly followed him to the tomb. But all this cannot prevent us from feeling deep and contemptuous compassion for a poet who humiliates himself to his patron, even to the extent of begging for his old clothes, and it is easy to understand that the summit of art can never be reached in that way.

The literature of the Trecento may be considered as exclusively Tuscan; that of the Renaissance quickly became national. In fact, as we have seen, men of learning flourished in all parts of the Peninsula, and now writers in the vulgar tongue began to spring up contemporaneously and with the same characteristics in different provinces. Thus from Poliziano and Florence, we may travel towards the south where we shall find Giovanni Gioviano Pontano. Born at Cerreto in Umbria (1426), he soon made his way to Naples, and became the minister and ambassador of Ferdinand of Aragon; he accompanied him everywhere; advised him in the weightiest matters of the State, in which he always took a prominent part, and was tutor to Alfonso II. Little by little he became a thorough Neapolitan, and we may say that he was the best representative of the state of culture of that court and of that time. A man of business, an acute diplomatist, and one of the most celebrated of the

learned men, he instituted the *Accademia Pontaniana* by the reorganization of that already founded by Antonio Panormita under the name of the *Porticus Antoniana*. He wrote—always in Latin—an infinite number of philosophical, scientific, astrological, political and historical works. But in all these works the approaching decline of learning was already foreshadowed. His tractates *della Fortezza, della Liberalità, della Beneficenza* etc., as also that *del Principe*, are mere dissertations without any originality, diffuse collections of moral sentences. His various astrological works include all the prejudices of the time, without any attempt to build them upon any pretended philosophical theory, after the manner of Ficino. The sun, the heart of heaven and of the universe, is the generative principle of all things. The constellation of Cancer, which influences cold bodies, is called the house of the moon, because when this planet, by nature damp and cold, is in this constellation, it acquires greater efficacy. Even his history of the *Guerra Napolitana* between Giovanni d'Anjou and Ferdinand of Aragon, although having a certain merit as the work of a contemporary writer, is full of useless digressions, wanders into astrological considerations, and lacks all critical power.* To really know Pontano and under-

* For Pontano's Life see Tiraboschi, S. L. T., vol. vi., page 950; Professor C. M. Tallarigo *Giovanni Pontano e i suoi tempi*, vols. 2: Naples, Morano, 1874. This Monograph contains many chosen specimens of Pontano's best Latin poems, with translations by Professor Ardito, and the whole of the Latin dialogue.—*Charon.* Settembrini in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (Naples, 1866-72, 3 vols.) speaks of Pontano with a truth and eloquence (vol. 1, pp. 281-83), which incited Professor Tallarigo to the composition of the above quoted monograph. See also the Basle edition of Pontano's works.

stand the value of his writings, a purely literary value, we must read his *Dialoghi* and Latin poems, especially those that are lyrical.

In these, we find the same phenomena as in Poliziano: an extremely fine classical taste, and a lucid, graphic style, as vigorous as that of one using a living language, for in this case also, the new life of the Latin springs from its intermixture with the language spoken by the author, which, however, is not Florentine but Neapolitanized Italian. Hence, however great Pontano's poetical talent, his works show an undeniable inferiority of form compared with those of Poliziano; Tuscan atticism lends to the Latinity of the latter, a Grecian elegance which does not exist in equal measure in that of Pontano. Nevertheless he certainly succeeds admirably in binding the Latin to modern ideas, and where it fails him, he Latinizes Italian or Neapolitan words, and rushes onwards with the speed of one speaking a language learnt from the cradle. In his dialogues *Charonte, Antonio, Asino,* which are all works of imagination in elegant Latin prose, and intermingled with beautiful poems, there are pictures of Neapolitan manners, popular festivals, rustic love scenes, and a series of anecdotes so full of *verve* as to remind the reader of Boccaccio's finest pages. The fête of the *Porcello* at Naples, the temper of Italian cities, the corruption of the Roman priesthood, the ridiculous disputes of the pedants, and the fury with which they fall upon those who dare to use some particle or ablative in a manner opposed to their own often fallacious rules, all these things are given with a descrip-

tive power, a freshness and *vis comica* sufficient to place Pontano among men of true literary genius. He writes in Latin, it is true, but his spirit and his intellect are modern, and his works are therefore real gems of Italian literature. In his *Antonius*, we see Neapolitans sitting in the shade and cutting jokes on passers by; Pontano himself alive and speaking; his son, who recounts family quarrels; a poet who, preceded by a trumpeter, according to the Neapolitan custom of the day, mounts a hill to recite the description of a battle, and stops from time to time to take a pull at his wine flask. Then we read the Ode of Galatea pursued by Polyphemus, which is one of his best poems:—

Dulce dum ludit Galatea in unda,
Et movet nudos agilis lacertos,
Dum latus versat, fluitantque nudae
Aequore mammae, etc.

and in all we find an exquisite taste, a spirit which even in old age, was intoxicated with sensual and artistic pleasure, a profound scepticism which turns everything into ridicule.

In the lyrics, the author's literary genius shows itself at its fullest, and shows us even better than those of Poliziano the image of the Renaissance. His women, says Carducci, laughingly bare all their charms to the sun and to love. "And with his tranquil sense of voluptuousness and genuine enjoyment of life, Pontano, though writing in Latin, is the most modern and truest poet of his age and of his country."* And certainly, in

* Carducci, *Studi letterarii*, Livorno, 1874, page 97.

reading his Odes, it is admirable to see the ease and agility of his movements in his Latin dress; he is like a swimmer floating down with the current. His Neapolitan Italian seems to infuse new life into the old idiom, even when it changes it too much :—

Amabo mea chara Fanniella,
Ocellus Veneris, decusque amoris,
Jube isthaec tibi basiem labella
Succiplena, tenella, mollicella,
Amabo, mea vita, suaviumque,
*Face istam mihi gratiam petenti.**

He laughs and jests, sings lullabies, steeps himself in voluptuous beauty, between the soft arms of the nymphs who, surrounded by flowers, await him on the sea-shore, in the presence of nature. This is his world, the world of the Renaissance. All the cities, villas, and islands in the neighbourhood of Naples, the streets, and the fountains, personified in fantastic beings, move and dance around the poet. The nymphs Posilipo, Mergellina, Afragola, Acura, *Panicocolis studiosa lupini*, and Marianella, who sings in accompanying Capodimonte

et cognita bucellatis
Ulmia, et intortis tantum laudata torallis.†

are all moving and living beings in his *Lepidina.*‡ Vesuvius in the form of an old man, descends the mountain on an ass to come to the fête, and the women all crowd round him. To one he gives a thimble, to another a spindle, to a third a jest, and all push to get

* Among the verses reprinted by Tallarigo, *op. cit.*, vol. II., p. 627.
† *Taralli* are cakes very common in Naples to this day.
‡ See Tallarigo, *op. cit.*, vol. II., p. 619 and fol.

nearer to him and his donkey, greeting both with loud and joyous cries,

Plebs plaudit, varioque asinum clamore salutant,
Brasiculisque apioque ferum nucibusque coronant.

The same merits are to be observed in the two books of his *Amori*, in his *Endecasillabi*, in his *Buccolica*, and in his dydaschylic poem *L' Urania*, in which there are admirable descriptions of nature. And we always find a strange mixture of two languages, one living, the other dead, in which both seem to acquire fresh life; and this rich and varied medley of classical imagery, fantastic whimsies, splendid descriptions of scenery, and modern feeling, all mingled and all fermenting in the fancy of this man of learning changed into a poet, shew us how the new literature was born of the ancient, and how, in the midst of the classical world so carefully conjured up, it was possible for the chivalric poem, apparently so unsuited to the age of learning, to spring into existence.

At this point we ought perhaps to mention the political letters of Ferrante d'Aragona, which also bear the signature of his prime minister Pontano, who certainly had no small part in their compilation. But, besides the difficulty of precisely determining what this part was, we shall have occasion to return to the subject at a more fitting moment. For the present it is enough to say that these letters are of rare merit, so perspicuous and eloquent, that they would bear comparison with some of our best prose, were not their Italian style too often adulterated with Neapolitan dialect,

which, although it may add strength and spontaneity, is naturally hurtful to the unity and elegance of the language.

Besides Pontano, there was another Neapolitan writer, who died in the second half of the fifteenth century, and left a volume of tales, which are worthy of notice, especially if we remember, that after Sacchetti, that style of composition was almost entirely forsaken. A man of the world and destitute of learning, though living in the company of the learned, Masuccio Salernitano tells us, that it was his endeavour to imitate "the ancient satirist Juvenal, and the much esteemed idiom and style of the well famed poet Boccaccio."* He frequently invokes the immortal Deities, and the most eloquent god Mercury speaks to him of the deceits practised by women "upon our great father Jove, the radiant Apollo, ourselves and other gods."† He, like Sacchetti, declares that he will narrate tales "approved as authentic histories, and certain modern, and other not very ancient facts."‡ His language is very artificial, from his imitation of Latin and of the Decameron; and a great admixture of the Neapolitan and Salernitan

* *Il Novellino di Masuccio Salernitano, restituito alla sua antica lezione* by Luigi Settembrini: Naples, Morano, 1874. See the prologue to the third part. There are fifty tales divided into five parts. Each part begins with a prologue, and the first of them is addressed to Ippolita d' Aragona, to whom the book is dedicated. Each tale has an Exordium, dedicating it to some illustrious Neapolitan personage; the tale itself follows, and then comes a conclusion always entitled *Masuccio*, because in it the author sets forth his reflections. The little we know of Masuccio is to be found in the Discourse, which Settembrini has prefixed to the volume.

† Prologue to the third part.

‡ First prologue.

dialects, while lending much vivacity to Masuccio's style, impairs both his Italian and his grammar. His freshness and graphic power are so considerable, that were his style less incorrect, he would be one of our standard authors. Even as it is, the *Novellino* gives us a faithful representation of the times and of the Neapolitan Court. With a wide knowledge of men and things, with an intelligence that appears to be keen and good, the author knows how to give life to his characters, and can narrate with the ease and cheerful ingenuity of a true writer of the Renaissance. His dominant feeling is a profound hatred for the immorality of the priesthood, whom he scourges pitilessly, without, however, shewing any hostility to religion. In the Exordium to the third tale dedicated to Potano, he lauds his virtues, while lamenting that they should be contaminated by his constant intercourse with priests, friars, and nuns, "since with such persons only usurers, fornicators, and men of bad life are seen to converse." All this is not very surprising in a writer resident at the Aragonese Court, which was in continual warfare with the papacy, and had taken under its protection Antonio Panormita and Lorenzo Valla. But it is a surprising sign of the times, to find dedicated to Ippolita, the daughter of Francesco Sforza, and the youthful bride of Alfonso II. of Aragon, a book of tales, many of which are very obscene, and certain of which bear special dedications to this or that noble lady.

From the Dialogues of Pontano and the Tales of Masuccio, no great leap is required to pass on to the

poems of knight-errantry, another of the kinds of literature special to the age. Truly these had their birth in France, and may appear totally opposed to the national genius of Italy. Chivalry, in fact, was hardly at all diffused among us; feudalism had been opposed and in a great measure destroyed; in the Crusades we had only played a secondary part; Charlemagne, the national hero of France, was for us merely a foreign prince and a conqueror. And all these were substantial elements of the poems of chivalry. Religious scepticism, which had an early origin in Italy, was also opposed to the temper of poems chiefly founded on the wars of the Christians against the infidels. Neither was the marvellous, which is the very essence of these poems, adapted to the Italian mind, which always had a strong leaning towards classical beauty. Having passed at one stride from a state of decay to a new form of civilisation, they had never known the savage and robust youth, in which had been created that world of heroes, with their impossible adventures and fantastic, ever-changing natures. Nevertheless, these French poems so rapidly diffused throughout all feudal Europe, found their way among us also, and were much more widely propagated than we should have expected.

Even before the rise of our literature, and when many in the north of Italy wrote in Provençal or French, we had a series of knightly poems, compiled by Italians, in an Italianised French, or Frenchified Italian. In the South these tales were brought to us by the Normans, and in the centre of the Peninsula were spread

by means of Italian writings and wandering minstrels. But those knightly heroes, the growth of a mist of fantasy, that was not in the least national, fell upon barren soil among us, particularly in Central Italy, and had almost vanished from our literature to take refuge in mountain cottages and the hovels of the poor, when the sun of Dante's verse rose above the horizon. In many of Boccaccio's works, in Petrarch's *Trionfi*, even in the *Divina Commedia*, we often meet with reminiscences showing that the romances of chivalry had been always well known among the people. Paolo and Francesca in the *Inferno* remind each other how, in happy times, they had read together of the loves of Launcelot, and Sacchetti telling of the smith who spoilt Dante's verses in reciting them, and the harshness with which the poet reproved him, adds that the smith would have done better to keep to the songs of Tristan and Launcelot; an evident sign that even in Florence these songs were considered more adapted to the popular fancy. Then, when the learned began to write in Latin, the romances of chivalry seemed to awake from a temporary trance, and together with the *Rispetti*, *Strambotti*, *Laudi*, and *Mysteries*, formed part of what, as we have seen, was the literature of the people. In fact, so widely and deeply were they diffused, that, to this day, the Neapolitan story-teller (*cantastorie*) relates the feats of Orlando and Rinaldo to an enchanted audience, and in the rural districts of Tuscany the *Maggi*, or May plays, performed among the peasantry in the spring, take their subjects from the same poems. Some of

these *Maggi* and romantic tales are of recent composition, but not a few of them date from the fifteenth century; At that time they were produced in enormous numbers, and read with the same avidity as novels are now-a-days. The Italians neither created new poems nor exactly reproduced the old, but made compilations in verse or prose, generally the latter, in which they often fused many into one, thus forming a huge repertory of fantastic tales, which the story-tellers, who were generally authors themselves, went about reading to the people in town and country, who always listened to them with the most eager attention. The so-called Chronicle of Turpin, and the cycle of Charlemagne in general furnish the groundwork of the Italian fables; but the cycle of King Arthur and the Round Table have also great part in them. The chief of these compilers, and who will suffice to give us an idea of the others, lived in the second half of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. This was Andrea dei Mangabotti of Barberino in the Val d' Elsa, who calls Florence *my city*, because he lived and was educated there. Of unrivalled industry, he not only wrote the famous *Reali di Francia* in six books, but also *Aspromonte*, in three books, *Storia di Rinaldo*, in seven, *Spagna*, in one, the *Seconda Spagna*, in one, the *Storie Narbonesi*, in seven, *Aiolfo*, in one very long book, *Ugone d' Avernia*, in three, and, finally, *Guerino il Meschino*, which although a continuation of the events narrated in the *Aspromonte*, forms a separate work, the popularity of which, little inferior to that of the *Reali*, endures to the present day. All these works

are in prose, excepting certain portions of *Ugone d'Avernia.*

The object proposed by the author was the collection and arrangement of the great multitude of tales forming part of the cycle of Charlemagne. And thus in the *Reali*, his principal work, he compiled the history of the great emperor's race, without, however, making either a true history or a genuine romance of chivalry. He tries to introduce connection and precision in the midst of a lamentable confusion; he makes geographical corrections; arranges genealogies; but in so doing, sacrifices ingenuousness and poetic originality. It seems as though that Italian realism, so much admired in those stories, which are the most characteristic and national outcome of our literature, predominates even here, and spoils the romance, making of it a work, which, though not destitute of merit, is of a hybrid description.

We have in truth neither popular nor literary poetry; it is rather epic matter in course of transformation, seeking a new shape which it has not yet found. The spoken language is intermingled with classical reminiscences, then familiar to all Italians; narrative has a quiet solemnity, almost in the style of Livy, and the author tries to bring together within the limits of an ideal and well defined machinery, a myriad of tales which had originally sprouted up with the exuberant and disorderly fertility of a virgin forest.* These qualities of Manga-

* Among the works giving precise details of this part of our literary history, we should first quote the memoir read in the Berlin Academy of L. Ranke, *Zur Geschichte der italienischen Poesie*, Berlin 1837. This short composition is one of those that first opened a new path in the history of

botti's writings are common to those of numerous other compilers of prose and verse.

From all that we have said, it is plain that when our men of letters began once more to write in Italian, and drew nearer to the people, sated with the pompous rhetoric of poems like the Sforziade and the Berseide, they found together with the *Rispetti* and the *Ballate*, many diffuse narratives like the *Reali di Francia*, in verse and in prose. Upon these they exercised their powers, endeavouring to convert them into true works of art. They left intact the general machinery of the tale, the division into cantos, the recapitulations at the beginning of each, addressed to "friends and good people," by the popular poet, who was, as it were, obliged to make an independent work of every canto. And these new writers also were accustomed to read their tales in fragments, not, it is true, in the public squares, but at court, at the dinners of the nobility, to cultivated persons, who, however, wished for diversion, and were weary of the empty solemnity of the learned men. Frequently the changes made in rewriting these popular poems, as we may now call them, were confined to a

the Romance of chivalry; although it is no longer on a level with the present state of our knowledge. More ample and with many new investigations in the history of literature, particularly that of France, but in some degree also that of Italy, is the work of Mons G. Paris, *Histoire Poétique di Charles Magne*, Paris, A. Franck, 1865. As regards our literature, the most recent and complete work is that of Professor P. Raina, *Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia*, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1872 (in the collection published by the Commission for *testi di lingua*). In this book and in other writings published in the *Propugnatore*, Professor Raina shows a profound knowledge of his subject, often obtained from fresh sources discovered by himself. See also Carducci's *Scritti letterarii*, Leghorn, 1874.

few touches, the addition of new episodes, fresh descriptions, sometimes of entire cantos. But the art of infusing life where none was before, consisted precisely in these re-touches, which opened the way to new and original creation.

The personages of these tales and poems began to stand out from the still fantastic and nebulous background with which they had hitherto been confused, and assumed life and consistency; the descriptions of nature were fragrant as it were with the breath of spring, and that which still remained of their primitive form, helped to enhance the truth, and we might say, the youthfulness of all that was now presented under a new form. It was almost an improvised rebellion against all conventional rhetoric, all artificial trammels; the Italian spirit was like a man who again breathes the fresh air of fields and mountains after long confinement in an unwholesome atmosphere. To seek for depth of feeling, logical development of character, or a general and philosophic design in these poems, would be to expect the improbable and impossible. On the contrary, the author of those days often purposely disarranges the monotonous narration of the romances which he finds already compiled, mingles and re-orders at his own caprice the intricate threads of the vast woof, in order the better to keep alive the curiosity of his readers. The important point for him is to be the master of his heroes, so that they may always stand out vividly at the moment when he calls them upon the stage. The ideal he pursues is different from ours, he has no desire to sound the

depths of the human heart; his object is to depict the changeful reality of all passing events and things.

If again and again he dismisses his personages into the obscurity of the fantastic background he has given to his picture, it is only to complete our illusion, and make us better appreciate truth and reality when once more he brings them near to us, presenting them almost like those baby boys of Correggio, who thrust forth their heads between flower-laden branches, or like those on the walls of the Vatican who seem to move amid a labyrinth of graceful arabesques. Thus, although the author is continually telling us of monsters, fairies, enchantments, and magic philtres, his narrative has so much life, that we seem to be reading a history of real events. Still, as is very natural, a perpetual smile plays round the author's lips, for he is himself exhilarated by the spell of illusion under which he holds his readers, and appears to laugh at them, the better to dominate and stir their hearts. It is a great mistake to imagine that any satire or profound irony exists in these romances. But as the poet himself cannot believe seriously in his personages, he is content to make his tale a vehicle for expressing all the various turns of life, all the contradictions existing in his own mind, in an age so full of different and antagonistic elements, content to delight and be delighted by his own creations. Still it needs an artistic temperament thoroughly to appreciate the value of these poems, which are most enjoyable when read in bits, as the story-tellers used to read them to the

people, as Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto read them to an audience of friends and patrons.

The first of these poems, worthy to be called a work of art, is the *Morgante Maggiore* of Luigi Pulci, (born at Florence in 1431). This work is a compound of other older ones. The first twenty-three cantos reproduce, with more or less fidelity, one of those poems which the story-tellers used to read to the people, narrating the adventures of Orlando. The last five tell the tale of the rout of Roncesvalle instead, and are made up of two other popular compilations, entitled *La Spagna.* An interval of twenty-five or thirty years passes between one part of the Morgante and the other; so that the characters who were young in the first are old in the second, a circumstance of little weight to the author.* Nor does he hesitate, especially in the first part, to follow his model so closely—merely correcting or modifying some of the stanzas—as to appear a positive plagiarist.†

* See Professor P. Raina's two very important works upon this subject: *La materia del Morgante Maggiore in un ignoto poema cavalleresco del secolo xv.* (*Propugnatore*, iii. year, 5th and 6th Nos.; iv. year, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Nos.

† I quote at hazard a few stanzas of the many given by Raina (*Propugnatore*, ii. year, 1st No., pp. 31-33):

"Quando più fiso la notte dormia
Una brigata s' armò di pagani,
E un di quegli la camera apria,
E poi entraron ne' luoghi lontani,
E un di lor ch'è pien di gagliardia
Al conte Orlando legava le mani
Con buon legami per tanta virtute,
Ch'atar non si può dalle genti argute.

(*Orlando*, foglio 92).

Yet it is these slight and simple touches of a master hand, which change a vulgar work into a work of art, give life and relief to the characters, and lead us away from tricks of rhetoric into the presence of nature. Now and then, however, the poet forgets his original, and then we have, for instance, the 275 stanzas narrating the episode of Morgante and Margutte, resplendent with all the careless scepticism, rich fancy and pungent irony for which Pulci* was renowned. This poem, which at every step breaks the leading thread of the narrative, seems only to acquire unity from the clear, definite, and graphic precision of its ever changing and inexhaustible string of episodes. It is a strange hurly-burly of inci-

"Quando più fiso la notte dormia
Una brigata s'armar di pagani,
E un di questi la camera apria:
Corsongli addosso come lupi o cani;
Orlando a tempo non si risentia,
Che finalmente gli legâr le mani;
E fu menato subito in prigione,
Senza ascoltarlo o dirgli la cagione
(*Morgante*, xii. 88).

"Tu sei colei che tutte l'altra avanza,
Tu se' d' ogni beltà ricco tesoro;
Tu se' colei che mi togli baldanza,
Tu se' la luce e specchio del mio cuore, ec., ec.
(*Orlando*, foglio 114).

"Tu se' colei ch 'ogni altra bella avanza,
Tu se' di nobiltà ricco tesoro,
Tu se' colei che mi dài tal baldanza,
Tu se' la luce dello eterno coro, ec., ec."
(*Morgante*, xiv. 47).

* This episode was afterwards printed separately with the title of *Morgante Minore*, whence the addition of *Maggiore* to the title of the entire poem, which the author had simply styled *Il Morgante*.

dents: of pathetic, ridiculous, marvellous and jovial scenes. The elements constituting the culture of that age, Paganism and Christianity, scepticism and superstition, irony and artistic enthusiasm for the beauties of nature, here co-exist, and without the need of any effort at agreement seem to harmonise with one another, exactly because the poet's sole object is to reproduce the restless changes of natural events and the realities of life. Pulci is an unrivalled tale-teller; his irony is directed, like that of the novelists, against priests and friars, occasionally against religion itself,* but always in a manner to imply that he intends no disrespect. He is familiar with antiquity, and his work is impregnated with its spirit, although there is nothing of it in the writer whom he takes as his model; nevertheless his muse is essentially popular:

"Infino a qui l' aiuto del Parnaso
Non ho chiesto nè chieggo . . . . .
Io mi starò tra faggi e tra bifulci,
Che non dispregin le muse del Pulci."

* The following well known verses give a good idea of Pulci's pungent, laughable and sceptical style:

"Rispose allor Margutte: A dirtel tosto,
Io non credo più al nero che all' azzurro,
Ma nel cappone, o lesso, o vuogli arrosto,
E credo alcuna volta anche nel burro;
Nella cervogia, e quando io n' ho, nel mosto,
E molto più nell' aspro che il mangurro;
Ma sopra tutto nel buon vino ho fede,
E credo che sia salvo chi gli crede.
E credo nella torta e nel tortello,
L' uno è la madre, e l'altro è il suo figliuolo;
Il vero paternostro è il fegatello,
E possono esser tre, e due, ed un solo,
E diriva dal fegato almen quello."
(*Morgante Maggiore*, xviii., 115, 116).

So popular in fact is his style, that it frequently lacks finish, and when weak is rather vulgar than rhetorical. More than all else it is this quality of spontaneousness which established the success of the *Morgante*, composed at the request of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, Lorenzo dei Medici's mother, at whose table it was read aloud, during the flying hours of festive banquets.

Yet the ever-laughing Pulci was condemned to many days of sadness by the failure of his brother Luca, in which he also was involved. Nor was the friendship of Lorenzo, with whom he was a great favourite, of much use to him, since, although upon terms of the greatest familiarity, he was never more than a favoured courtier. His best help lay in the unconquerable gaiety of his temperament. Obliged to fly far from Florence to escape falling into the hands of creditors to whom he owed nothing personally, he complains in his letters to Lorenzo of the unlucky star which made it his fate to be always the prey of others. "Yet in my time many rebels, thieves, assassins, I have seen come here, obtain a hearing, and have some reprieve from death. To me alone is all denied, nothing conceded. If they continue to harass me in this wise, without hearkening to my reasons, I will come there (to Florence) to be unbaptised in the very font in which, in a cursed hour, was I unworthily baptised, since it is certain that I was better fitted for the turban than the cowl." * And he promised

* Letter iv. in the *Lettere di Luigi Pulci a Lorenzo il Magnifico* Lucca, Guioti, 1868. For this fine publication we are indebted to Cavaliere Salvatore Bongi of the Lucca Archives.

that on reaching Mecca, he would send Lorenzo verses in the Moorish tongue, and many others from hell itself by means of some familiar spirit.* Then he goes on to say, "Do not, in the height of your felicity, allow your friends to be driven and worried like dogs. Much I fear that when I do not send thee verses, all I write to thee in prose is unwillingly read, and hastily cast aside."† Lorenzo was always the same, he patronised all, but had no real affection for any one, not even for those who like Pulci had been the companions of his childhood, and loved him as a brother. Later, however, the author of the Morgante was commissioned by him to arrange affairs of some gravity at various Italian Courts, and even in these circumstances his letters always show the bent of his genius, often appearing like fragments of his poem turned into prose.

The 20th May 1472 he wrote from Fuligno that he had been to Rome, "to visit the daughter of the despot of "the Maremma, that is to say of the Morea. . . . I will "therefore briefly describe this mountain of grease that "we visited, the like of which I did not think could have "existed in all Germany, much less in Sardinia. We "came into a room where this cake (berlingaccio), was set "up in a chair, and she had wherewithal to sit, that I can "tell you. Two Turkish kettledrums for her bosom, a "double chin, a broad, shining face, a pair of hog's chaps, "a throat sunk between the drums. Two eyes, big "enough for four, with so much flesh, and fat, and grease "around, that the Po itself has smaller banks."‡ In

* Letter iii. † Letter iv. ‡ Letter xxi.

Pulci's poems this extremely familiar style becomes much more elegant, without losing its spontaneity, as is also to be seen by his sonnets, which correct the too common, often low, manner of the poor barber Burchiello, in whose shop according to his own phrase—

"Poetry with the razor fights."

Pulci at that time wrote in emulation of Matteo Franco, with whom he exchanged all kinds of pleasantries, obscenities, and insolence, as a simple pastime, turning his sonnets into a species of rhymed dialogue, full of the spontaneous simplicity, which was now the chief aim of the new literature.*

One year earlier than Luigi Pulci, Matteo Maria Boiardo was born, and three cities contested the honour

* *Sonetti* of Matteo Franco and Luigi Pulci published in 1759. Franco has much dash and spontaneousness; but Pulci is the better poet and has more gaiety. Among the former's Sonnets is one giving a good idea of its author, beginning:

"Costor, che fan si gran disputazione
Dell' anima, ond' ell' entri o ond 'ell 'esca,
O come il nocciol si stia nella pesca,
Hanno studiato in su n' un gran mellone, ec."
(Sonetto cxlv. page 145)

The viii. Sonnet—

"Ah, ah, ah, ah sa' di quel ch' io rido;"

The lv.—

"Don, don, che diavol fia? A parlamento;"

The lxi.—

"Chiarissimo maggior dite su presto,"

and many others are by Franco, and afford good proof how he strove to rival Pulci in the attainment of ease and skill. In the same volume at page 151 we have Luigi Pulci's *Confessione a Maria Vergine.* In this the *ungrateful sinner* confesses his sins, and acknowledge's past errors—

"Però qui le mie colpe scrivo e 'ncarno
Con le lacrime miste con l' inchiostro."

naturally this was no obstacle to his committing still worse sins the following day.

of being his birthplace. Probably this dispute arose from his being of a Reggio family, born at Scandiano, educated at Ferrara.* A learned writer of Latin eclogues, and translations from the Greek, he was both of noble birth and noble character; he lived in the society of the Este family, but had no liking for court life, for as he himself wrote:

> "Ogni servir di cortigiano
> La sera è grato e la mattina è vano."

He was first Governor of Modena, and then of Reggio —Emilia; he also filled other important offices; but while honourably fulfilling every duty, his mind turned more willingly to meditation upon heroes and romances of chivalry than to political and administrative details. It is related of him, that one day as he wandered in the fields, racking his brains to find a name for one of his heroes, it suddenly occurred to him to call him Rodomonte, and so great was his delight, that he ran back to Scandiano as fast as he could, and ordered all the bells to be set ringing. He had a sincere belief in chivalry, and hoped to see it revive in Italy. For the framework of his poem he made use of tales belonging to different cycles. A fervent admirer of the Round Table, he mingled Arthur's heroes with those of Charlemagne, for in his opinion the former monarch was the grander of the two, since, unlike Charles, his heart was not closed to that source of all greatness, the passion of love. In fact his Orlando is a hero whose virtue finds

* This is likewise the opinion of Professor Ulisse Poggi in his short *Elogio di Matteo Maria Boiardo*, published in the Supplement to No. 35 of the *Italia Centrale* of Reggio (Emilia), 23rd March 1871.

in love its first origin and its final reward. Many episodes are from beginning to end of Boiardo's own creation, for he lived and breathed in the world evolved from his own fancy, with an ingenuousness which is at once his chief merit and his chief fault. It renders him more touching, more sincere; but naturally the fact of his relating impossible adventures in all seriousness, and without any shade of irony, renders him far less modern than Pulci. The latter brings out better the individuality of his personages; while Boiardo is more successful in describing the general tumult of fantastic events, in which, however, his heroes are often involved to a degree that clouds the precision of their outline. Too often is love renewed or extinguished by enchanted beverages; victory or death given by enchanted weapons. Pulci seeks psychological truth even amid the spells of magic; Boiardo even amidst reality invokes the fantastic and the supernatural. But to recompense us for this, there is always something noble and generous in his heroes, and throughout his poem, which is lacking in other authors. He praises and sincerely admires virtue, exalting the consolation which friendship affords to noble minds:

> "Potendo palesar l' un l' altro il core,
> E ogni dubbio che accada raro o spesso
> Poterlo ad altrui dir come a se stesso." *

It is true that there is in the *Orlando* some amount of coarseness and indecent jesting; but these things are to be found in the poem, because we find them in life.

* Boiardo, *Orlando Inamorato*, book iii., canto vii.

And there is always a background of moral seriousness, which gives singular elevation to Boiardo's noble diction, especially when compared with that continual ridicule of all things which predominates in the other writers of the time. Here we have a world full of variety, of imagination, of affection, and it is in this world that the poet lives wrapt in illusion. But this illusion was destined to be of short duration.

It is in vain that he tells us:—

"E torna il mondo di virtù fiorito;"

while all things were hastening to ruin. Too soon he himself is driven to acknowledge it; and at the end of the second book his melancholy breaks out:—

"Sentendo Italia di lamenti piena,
Non che ora canti, ma sospiro appena."

He again took up his work, and reached the point, in which, by the arrival of Orlando, the French prevent the Saracens from entering Paris. Then shortly before his death, which took place on the night of the 20th December 1494, he beheld the French pass the Alps, and his pen dropped from his hand for ever, leaving the thread of his poem interrupted by that celebrated stanza beginning:—

"Mentre ch' io canto, oh Dio redentore!
Vedo la Italia tutta a fiamma, a foco,
Per questi Galli che con gran furore
Vengon per disertar non so che loco . . ."

Although the merits of the *Orlando Inamorato* are so many and so great, that Berni set to work to re-write it in another shape, and Ariosto continued it in his *Orlando*

Furioso; yet its want of polish, and the incorrectness of its diction, often degraded into the Ferrarese dialect, prevented it from becoming really popular, or acquiring the fame so well deserved by the intellect and character of its author, notwithstanding his lack of Tuscan atticism. He too was a classic scholar, but so thoroughly immersed in his fantastic world, that whenever the images and heroes of antiquity presented themselves to his mind, he always compared them to those of chivalry, with which he was more familiar.

Ariosto, also a native of Ferrara, was the first who was able to conquer the obstacle of his non-Tuscan birth, and it was in his writings that our tongue finally became Italian. Gifted with the true genius of style and the faculty of the patient labour of the file; by means of art he attained to a marvellous spontaneity, and opened the way for future followers. With far less learning than Boiardo, and ignorant of Greek, he had nevertheless a far more lively sense of classic beauty. Contrary to his predecessor's custom, he prefers to compare his heroes of chivalry with the personages of the Pagan world. His knights-errant have the wisdom of Nestor, the cunning of Ulysses, the courage of Achilles; his women are as beautiful as though chiselled by Phidias, they have the seductions of Venus combined with the wisdom of Minerva. Ariosto is always returning to his Virgil and his Ovid; but as Ranke has observed, he seems to return to them in order by the force of his imagination to lead them to the primitive Homer. And with more resemblance to Pulci than to

Boiardo, he gives little attention to plot, *ensemble* or unity of incident; but rather seeks to depict the fugitive moments of changeful reality, and describe individual passions. The events of his own life and times are introduced into the poem in a sufficiently transparent fashion, and they sometimes seem to exist even where they are not, so great is the poet's graphic power. Therefore, although the *Orlando Furioso* continues the history of *Orlando Inamorato*, it has more literary connection with the *Morgante* of Pulci, who, much as he availed himself of preceding writers, may be called the creator of this description of poem. But Ariosto extends beyond the period to which we have hitherto dedicated our attention, so we can say no more. Nevertheless we will observe in conclusion, that even from the days of the Divine Comedy and the Decameron, Italian literature had begun to arouse the human mind from the mists of the Middle Ages, and lead it back towards reality. Alike in poetry and prose, it had always sought for nature and mankind. Arrested in its path by the political disorder and social decay which subverted all things in the middle of the fourteenth century, it sought the aid of antiquity, in order to continue the same road. And thus after the middle of the fifteenth century we behold the same realism come still more clearly to the surface, not only in letters, but in science, in society, in mankind. It was indeed the impulse to study and know the world, free from all bonds of authority or prejudice, which created the new literature, the new science, initiated the experimental method, spurred

men to the most daring voyages, and reanimated as with a second life the whole mind of Italy. And what renders this marvellous is the fact that it happened in the midst of a thorough convulsion of society, which in its corruption and decay, gave birth to the grand elements of modern culture.

At that time all distinctions of caste, of class, nay even of sex, seemed to have utterly vanished. Mecænas and his *protegés*, in conversing on letters or science, treated one another on terms of equality and addressed one another with the familiar thee and thou; women studied Latin, Greek and philosophy, sometimes governed states, and clad in armour followed Condottieri to the field. To us it causes an astonishment almost amounting to disgust and horror to hear indecent talk carried on in the presence, not only of refined matrons, but of innocent girls; to hear politics treated as though no such thing as conscience were known. The man of the Renaissance considered that all that he dared to do might be freely talked of, discussed and described without the slightest scruple. And this was a necessity of his observant and inquiring mind, not always in consequence of his corruption, often, on the contrary, in consequence of his realism. He appeared to live in an Olympian calm, always master of himself, always wearing an ironical smile; but it was a deceptive calm. He suffered from the want of harmony and balance between the emptiness of his heart and the feverish activity of his brain, which often raved as in an unconscious delirium. The ruins of the mediæval world which he had destroyed, and those of

the antiquity which he had exhumed, were falling around him on all sides, before he could discover the generative principle of a new world, or could convert into genuine organic material all the remains of the past.

Whether it be that the Italians, after having created the grand entities of Pagan Rome and Catholic Rome, had lost all capacity for forming a new order of society, founded solely upon free modern individualism, for which they had not only opened the way, but which they had even initiated by their labours; whether it be that foreign invasions had arrested their progress on this road, certain it is that they often appear as if bewildered and uncertain of themselves. While daringly denying God, they believe in fate and fortune;* while despising all religion, they study the occult sciences with ardour. Almost every republic, every prince, every Condottiere owned an astrologer, without whose counsel no treaty was signed, no war commenced. Cristoforo Landino and Battista Mantovano drew the horoscopes of religions; Guicciardini and Machiavelli believed in spirits of the air; Lodovico il Moro, notwithstanding his unbounded belief in his own sagacity, took no step without previous consultation with his astrologer. Reason, in trying to explain all things, found itself confronted by its own impotence.

* This faith in fortune is sometimes shown in a singular manner. In the books of the *Provvisioni* of the Florentine Republic, there is one dated 20th February (old style) beginning with the usual formula: *In Dei nomine: Amen*, and within the large capital I are written the following words: *Fortuna in omni re dominat.* Florentine Archives, *Consigli Maggiori, Provvisioni*, Register 190, sheet 122 t.

The feeling for the beautiful seemed to be the only and surest guide of human life which sought to identify itself with art. In Castiglione's *Cortegiano* we are shown to how high a point of refinement and culture the gentleman of the sixteenth century could attain; but we are also shown the weak foundation of his moral conscience. Virtue, if not the natural result of a happy temperament, is only to be prized because it is in itself pleasant, gracious and elegant, to use the phrase of Pandolfini. Great indeed must have been the intellectual and even the moral qualities of Italians, if in so tremendous a confusion, they not only avoided total ruin, but gave a powerful impulse to art, science and the social conditions of life. Besides, this was a period of transition and restless mutability, of which it is hard to form an accurate judgment, unless we consider it as a consequence of the past, and a necessary preparation for the future. Suddenly foreign invasions strangled our whole political life, and thus the Italian Renaissance, with all its uncertainties, all its contradictions, is, as it were, instantaneously turned into stone before our eyes. And possibly this is exactly the reason of its eminent instructiveness. In it we see the anatomy of the past bared before us, we behold the origin of modern society, and even discover the earliest germs of many of our national defects.

IV.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF ITALY AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

I.—THE ELECTION OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

THE nearer the fifteenth century approached to its end, the more inevitable became the catastrophe already foreseen for many years. When Galeazzo Maria Visconti was assassinated at Milan (1476), his son, Giovan Galeazzo, was only eight years of age, and his mother, Bona di Savoia, therefore assumed the regency. But the brothers of her deceased husband conspired against her, and finally Lodovico il Moro, Duke of Bari, the most able and ambitious one among them, took possession of the government. His first act was to separate the Duchess from her faithful counsellor, Cicco Simonetta, who was put to death; * he then separated her from her child, at that time only twelve years of age, and persuaded the latter to sign a deed, choosing himself, the usurper, for his guardian (1480). The Duchess left

* He was then seventy years of age, and the following verses were inscribed to him :—

Dum fidus servare volo patriamque Ducemque,
Multorum insidiis proditus interii.
Ille sed immensa celebrari laude meretur
Qui mavult vita quam caruisse fide.

the Court, and Lodovico remained *de facto* lord of Milan, but, having no legal right to his position, was continually environed by a thousand dangers. In 1485 he had a narrow escape from a conspiracy. In 1489 Giovan Galeazzo, then twenty-one years old, married Isabella of Aragon, daughter of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, and thus, partly in consequence of his age, partly through the impatience of his wife, who sought and hoped for the aid of her grandfather in Naples, the state of affairs became dangerous.

In 1491 Lodovico il Moro married Beatrice d'Este, and feminine impatience and jealousies still further embittered men's minds, and fostered discontent. Tormented by continual fears, the restless spirit of the man, who was ever ready to turn all Italy upside down, rather than renounce his ill-acquired power, was always brooding over new schemes. At present his favourite design was that of calling the French to aid him against the Neapolitan King, since, by this means, he hoped to stir up a general war, in the midst of which his subtlety, in which he had unlimited trust, would enable him to arrange his own concerns at the expense of both friends and enemies. It was very doubtful whether he would be successful in this; but it was easy enough to bring about a general war, and a foreign invasion. In fact, it was only the great sagacity and perseverance of Lorenzo di Medici that could preserve the general equilibrium and prevent the sudden outbreak of the catastrophe. For these reasons the year 1492 was fatal for Italy. Lorenzo died on the 8th of

April, and was succeeded by his son Piero, a man of vain, presumptuous, frivolous character, who passed his time in playing at football and the game of pallone, and was totally incapable of governing Tuscany, much less of exercising any influence over Italy. Nor did this misfortune come alone, for, on the 25th July, Innocent VIII. died, and was succeeded by the worst Pontiff who ever filled the chair of St Peter—a man whose crimes were sufficient to upset any human society.

No sooner did the Conclave meet on the 6th August than one would have imagined it assembled for a game of speculation rather than for the election of a Pope, so plain was the corruption exercised on the voters. From all parts of Europe money poured into the hands of Roman bankers, in favour of this man or that of the three candidates engaged in the race. France supported Giuliano della Rovere, Lodovico il Moro his brother Ascanio, and these two seemed to have the best chances of success. But Roderigo Borgia, by means of his great wealth and lavish promises, was enabled to add to the votes he had himself gained, all those promised to Ascanio, as soon as the chances began to go against the latter; and in this way he compassed his election. On the night of the 10th August he exclaimed in a frenzy of joy:—"I am Pope, Pontiff, Vicar of Christ!" and Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici whispered in the ear of his neighbour, Cardinal Cibo:—"We are in the jaws of the wolf, and he will devour us if we do not escape in time." The day after the election, all Rome repeated that four mules laden with gold had

been seen carrying to the house of Ascanio Sforza the price of his vote. At all events it is certain that on the very day of his consecration (26th August), under the name of Alexander VI., the new Pope nominated Sforza vice-Chancellor of the Church—a very lucrative office—and also gave him his own palace, now the Sforza Cesarini, with all that it contained. Estates, offices, and generous incomes were lavished upon the other Cardinals; since, with five exceptions, every vote in the Conclave had been obtained by purchase.

Alexander VI. is so prominent a figure in Italian history, the name of Borgia arouses so much horror, recalls so many tragedies, is so often involved with the principal subject of these volumes, that it is necessary to speak both of the Pope and of his children. At this period the offspring of a Pope were no longer styled his nephews. Roderigo Lanzol or Lenzuoli, as the Italians translated it, born the 1st January 1431 at Xativa near Valencia, was the nephew of Calixtus III. who had raised him to the rank of bishop, cardinal and vice-chancellor of the Church, with an allowance of 8,000 florins per annum, and the further gift of his own name of Borgia. He had studied law at Bologna, was well-practised in affairs, and although not always able to keep his passions under control, and apt to let people see what he thought, on emergencies he could become a perfect dissembler. He was not a man of much energy, nor of determined will; both by nature and habit he was double-faced and double-minded, and the ambassadors of the Italian States fre-

quently allude to him as "of a vile nature," "*di natura vile.*"*

The firmness and energy wanting to his character were, however, often replaced by the constancy of his evil passions, by which he was almost blinded. Always smiling and tranquil, with an air of ingenuous expansiveness, he liked to lead a merry life, was temperate, even frugal at table, and perhaps for that reason, remained very fresh and robust even in his old age. Extremely covetous of gold, he sought to obtain it by every means, and spent it with lavish profusion. His ruling passion was lust for women; he ardently loved the children he had by them, and neglected no means for augmenting their wealth and position. And this was the chief cause of his crimes, all of which he committed with a quiet conscience, without scruple, without remorse, almost indeed boasting of them, and never for an hour losing his equanimity or the power of enjoying life. He was, though very young, already a cardinal, living at Sienna, when Pius II. thought it necessary to send him a very severe letter, reproving him for passing his nights in festivity and dancing with ladies as though he were a layman or worse. But this had no effect, for he neither could nor would alter his way of life.†

* Guidantonio Vespucci and Piero Capponi wrote from Lyons the 6th of June, 1494, to Piero de Medici who had sent them on an embassy to France: "Our Lord, His Holiness, who has a vile nature and is *conscius criminis sui*," etc., Desjardins, *Négociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. i., page 399. Ferrante d'Aragona, in a letter of the 17th January, 1494, which will be quoted farther on, speaks of the Pope as a man of "acute and timid nature."

† All this portion of Alexander's life is minutely related by F. Gregoro-

Among the Cardinal's many passions, one of the most lasting was his love for a certain Giovanna or Vannozza dei Cattani *(de Cataneis)*, who, born in 1442, became his mistress in 1470, and bore him many children. To cover this scandal, Borgia gave her several husbands, and to the husbands gave offices and coin. The last of those was a learned man, Carlo Canale, of Mantua, to whom Poliziano dedicated his *Orfeo.** Yet Borgia made no mystery of the parentage of these children, whom he publicly acknowledged for his own. There is no doubt that Giovanni, afterwards Duke of Gandia (born 1474); Cesare, afterwards Duke of Valentino (born 1476); Lucrezia (born 1480); Goffredo or Giuffré (born 1481 or 82)† were all his children by this Vannozza. Besides these he had also three elder children, Girolamo, Isabella and Pier Luigi, of whom but little is known, and all that can be said is that very probably the last of these was also by Vannozza.

vius and by A. de Reumont in their Histories of Rome. Gregorovius is specially distinguished for his researches regarding the Borgias.

* Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia nach Urkunden und Correspondenzen ihrer eigenen Zeit:* Stuttgart, Cotta, 1874, vol. i. pages 21, 22. This work of the illustrious author contains many important documents. It has been translated into Italian by Sig. R. Mariano, and has gone through three editions in Germany.

† The latest and most precise notices on the genealogy of the Borgias are to be found in the *Lucrezia Borgia* of F. Gregorovius. But the reader may also consult the two above mentioned Histories of Rome, the *Saggio di Albero genealogico e di memorie sulla famiglia Borgia* of L. N. Cittadella: Turin, 1872; the *Rassegna bibliografica* upon this work of Cittadella's (not free from errors), published by Baron A. di Reumont in the *Archivio Storico*, Series iii., vol. xvii., 2nd No. of 1873, page 318 and fol.; and *La Genealogia dei Borgia, Nota* by Reumont to his own article, 3rd No., page 509.

However that may be, after the birth of Giuffré, namely shortly before Borgia's elevation to the Papacy, his passion for Vannozza, who was now over forty years of age, sensibly slackened, although he showed her consideration as the mother of his children, upon whom he heaped enormous sums of money and every kind of benefit. Thus Vannozza remained in the background, and had no share in the tragic events so soon to take place. Borgia had entrusted his favourite daughter Lucrezia to the care of a relation, Adriana de Mila,* who was also the closest confidant of his scandalous intrigues. The widow of Lodovico Orsini since 1489, she had about the same time married her son Orsino Orsini, to the famous Giulia Farnese, who, fair as Lucrezia, was by reason of her great beauty known as the beautiful Giulia. This young lady was barely fifteen years old when she had already attracted the admiration of the Cardinal, who became her declared lover, on his desertion of Vannozza. Even in this intrigue he was assisted by Adriana.

Such was the state of things when Borgia became Pope. His consecration was celebrated with unusual festivities on the 26th August, and the eternal city overflowed with flowers, draperies and triumphal arches, allegorical and mythological statues, and inscriptions, one of which ran as follows:

Caesare magna fuit, nunc Roma est maxima, Sextus
Regnat Alexander, ille vir, iste Deus.†

---

* His second-cousin.

† Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, vol. i., pages 22, 23, 36, 37.

This election aroused no alarm in any one excepting those who knew Borgia well, like Cardinal Medici and Ferrante d' Aragona, a keen-witted prince, who remembered the ingratitude of Calixtus III. towards the house of Aragon ;* the rest of the world was disposed to hope rather than fear. The scandalous life of the new Pope was not unknown ; but what prelates were then without mistresses and children? At first all went smoothly; salaries were regularly paid, administration was carried on in an orderly fashion, necessities of life diminished in price ; even justice was administered with a rigour of which there was the greatest need, for in the short interval between the fatal illness of Innocent VIII., and the coronation of Alexander VI. two hundred and twenty murders had taken place.

Very soon, however, the tiger began to unsheath his claws. The Pope's passion for aggrandizing his relations, especially his children, some of whom he loved to distraction, grew to a blind frenzy, capable of leading him to every excess. At the first consistory held by him,

* Guicciardini, who was a bitter enemy of the Borgias, tells us in his *Storia d' Italia*, that Ferrante's alarm at this election, caused him to shed tears, in him a most unusual demonstration. Gregorovius, on the contrary, asserts that the official letters of congratulation prove that none of the Italian states was at first displeased with the election. But perhaps in this, as in many other cases, there is some truth in either theory, and Reumont is of the same opinion (*vide* his article on the *Codice Aragonese*, in the *Archivio Storico*, 3d series, vol. XIV., p. 375-421). It is undoubted that the king of Naples opposed the election of Alexander VI. In the November of 92, the Florentine Ambassador, Piero Alamanni, wrote to Piero di Medici from Naples, that the Pope was aware how much the king had tried to prevent his election ; "and the Pope being the man he is, the king does not persuade himself that this will be easily forgotten by him." *Vide* Desjardins, *Négociations*, vol. I.

(1st September) his nephew Giovanni Borgia, bishop of Monreale, was made Cardinal of Santa Susanna. His favourite son Cæsar, a youth of sixteen, who was studying at Pisa, and had already appeared in Rome, was on the same day consecrated Archbishop of Valencia. As for Giovanni, Duke of Gandia, and Giuffré, the youngest of all, the Pope had conceived vast schemes for their benefit in the kingdom of Naples, and wished to bestow upon the former the feuds of Cervetri and Anguillara. But this brought about serious complications which greatly exasperated Alexander VI.

No sooner had Innocent VIII. breathed his last, than his son Franceschetto Cibo, conscious of his altered position, had fled to Florence to seek the protection of his brother-in-law Piero dei Medici, and had sold for the sum of 40,000 ducats these very feuds of Cervetri and Anguillara to Gentil Virginio Orsini, head of that family, who arrogant as he was powerful, had once threatened to throw Innocent VIII. into the Tiber. It was asserted at the time that Ferrante d' Aragona had advanced the money for the purchase. Hence the fierce and inextinguishable hatred of the Pope towards Ferrante, and even more towards Orsini. In the midst of these disorders, Lodovico the Moor, the better to distinguish his friends from his enemies, proposed that his ambassadors should go to congratulate the new Pontiff, together with those of Naples, Florence, and Venice. The proposal was not accepted, since Piero dei Medici, in order to enjoy the honour of sending an embassy in his own name, induced Ferrante to invent some pretext for refusing.

Thereupon Lodovico, believing himself isolated in Italy, took the desperate resolution of appealing to the French.

While the already gloomy horizon was becoming darker and darker, the Holy Father took no decided part, but wavered between this side and that, waiting to see which would be most advantageous to himself and his children. And meanwhile, old as he was, he profited by the interval to plunge into dissipation. The Vannozza was kept away from the Vatican, and he abandoned himself more and more to his intrigue, first begun in 1491, with Giulia Bella, who was then seventeen years old. His daughter Lucrezia, some four years younger, continued to live with Adriana, and received her first education in this atmosphere of corruption. It may easily be imagined, that it was impossible for her to have the culture attributed to her by some writers on the strength of her fluency in many languages.* It is true that besides Italian, French, and

* In describing the character of Lucrezia Borgia, many writers have been led away by illusions, and often for very futile reasons. They have drawn singular conclusions from the expressions used by contemporary historians, such as "Lucrezia was wise and learned," etc. But these same expressions are used regarding Giulia Bella and even Valentino. It was a phrase in general use, especially with reference to those who had good manners and managed matters so as to avoid much open scandal. Burckhardt, in relating in his diary, one of Valentino's orgies, the notorious courtezans' supper, begins thus: "In sero fecerunt cœnam cum Duce Valentinense in camera sua, in Palatio Apostolico, quinquaginta meretrices *honestae* cortesanæ nuncupatæ," etc. Less unreasonably, Lucrezia Borgia's general conduct at Ferrara, and the praises showered upon her by Ariosto and others, have been alleged in her defence. We cannot go into the matter here, but will content ourselves with remarking, that even in the biography by F. Gregorovius, there are certain particulars touching her life at Ferrara, much resembling other particulars of her Roman life.

Spanish, which latter was the family language of the Borgias, she also understood Latin and had some superficial knowledge of Greek, probably learnt from the Greek exiles who frequented the Vatican. But among those of her letters which have been preserved, very few are of any importance, and these give no evidence of her boasted culture. As to the mystery of her character, it is better to wait and judge it from known facts. So far the air she breathes is as poisonous as the blood that runs in her veins.

In 1491, when only eleven years old, she was officially betrothed to a Spaniard, and soon after, that contract being dissolved, was engaged at the same time to two other Spaniards, to one of whom, Don Gasparo, Count of Aversa, she was regularly married. But when Alexander ascended the throne of St Peter, the Pope's daughter could not content herself with such a marriage, the husband was bought off, the bond dissolved, and on the 2nd February 1493 Lucrezia Borgia, *virgo incorrupta ætatis jam nubilis existens*, was married to Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro.* The wedding was celebrated in the Vatican; the bride, who had a dowry of 31,000 ducats, received many rich gifts; there was a splendid festival, to which one hundred and fifty ladies were invited, and the Pope gave a supper to the bridal couple, at which Ascanio Sforza, many other Cardinals, and a

Certainly they are few, but Lucrezia had now to do with a husband who bade her remember the fate of Parisina; nor had she any longer the protection of her father. As to Ariosto's praises, he was accustomed to lavish them on many who were undeserving of them.

* Natural son of Costanzo, who was the son of Alexander, brother of Francesco Sforza.

few ladies were present. The ambassador of Ferrara tells us that among them, "Madonna Giulia Farnese *de qua est tantus sermo*,* . . . and Madonna Adriana Ursina, who is the mother-in-law of the said Madonna Giulia," were the most prominent. They passed the whole night in dancing, acting plays with songs and instrumental music, and all received rich presents. The Pope, concludes the ambassador, took part in everything, and it would take too long to describe all that passed." *Totam noctem consumpsimus, iudicet modo Exc. Dominatio Vestra si bene o male.*†

The Duke of Gandia was preparing to go to Spain to contract a wealthy marriage. The Pope's other son, Cæsar, who, young as he was, held a bishopric with a yearly revenue of 16,000 ducats, was nevertheless very impatient of ecclesiastical life; he went out shooting in the dress of a layman, was violent and unbridled in his passions, and exercised an extraordinary ascendency over his father's mind. As to Giuffré, new marriage schemes were always being formed for him.‡ Meanwhile Rome swarmed with assassins, priests, Spaniards, and light women; crimes of all kinds abounded. Each day witnessed the arrival of Mussulmans and Jews driven from Spain, and who found here an easy welcome,

* Infessura, who also gives a description of this marriage, speaks of Giulia openly as the Pope's mistress, *ejus concubina*, and adds that he will not repeat all that was related of that supper, "because it was either not true, or if true, incredible."

† This letter, dated 13th June 1493, addressed to the Duke of Ferrara by his ambassador, Giov. Andrèa Boccáccio, *ep mutinensis*, is to be found in the *Lucrezia Borgia* of Gregorovius, Document x.

‡ Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, vol. viii. page 327, second edition.

since the Pope, by the imposition of heavy taxes, made them pay freely for his Christian tolerance. He himself appeared at the chase and the promenade surrounded by armed men, with Djem on one side, and the Duke of Gandia on the other, both clad in Turkish costume. Sometimes he was even seen among his women in Spanish dress, with high boots, a dagger, and an elegant velvet cap.*

The Popes of the Renaissance had long led a worldly life, and given themselves up to vice; but Borgia was the only one to cast aside all show of decency and display his vices with open cynicism. Neither before nor after was religion so publicly profaned amid derisive mirth and the most shameless orgies.

2. The Arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy.

Charles VIII., educated in the study of romance, of chivalry, and histories of the Crusades, with his head full of fantastic schemes, and without any seriousness of character, was entirely under the influence of two ambitious men, who were always at his side. The first of these, Etienne di Vesc, had been raised from the position of gentleman-in-waiting to that of Chamberlain and Seneschal of Beaucaire, and thus enriched, was ever greedy for fresh gains; the other, Guillaume Briçonnet, a rich gentleman of Touraine, after losing his wife, had been nominated Bishop of St Malo in 1493; he aspired

* Dispatch of Giacomo Trotti, Milan, 21st December 1494, quoted by Gregorovius in his *Lucrezia Borgia*, vol. i., page 83.

to a cardinal's hat, and meanwhile controlled the chief affairs of the State. By means of promises and gold, Ludovico il Moro had gained over both these men. After the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia to the Lord of Pesaro, one of the Sforza family, the Duke knew that his power in Rome was increased by the presence there of his brother Cardinal Ascanio. He was now treating simultaneously with all the Italian potentates, for his secret intention was—after having called the French into Italy—to form a league for their expulsion, hoping by that means to become the sole arbiter of the destinies of all. The Italian exiles, and in particular, the Neapolitans, seconded him in this design, using all their efforts to induce King Charles to set out; but the chief statesmen and most reputed military leaders in France highly disapproved of the enterprise. No one was sure of what the next day might bring forth, and all men's minds were stirred by strange fears.

During this stage of affairs, the ambassadors of all the Italian States were travelling about the Peninsula and the whole of Europe. So great an activity had never yet been seen in the world: all Italy's literary labour was suspended to make way for diplomatic work, and the infinite number of despatches penned in those days have become a literary and historical monument of capital importance, which brings clearly before us the true state of things in those fatal years. Now, as ever, the Venetian ambassadors took the lead for practical good sense and political prudence; the Florentine for strength of psychological analysis, study of character

and the passions, power of description, incomparable elegance and ease of style. These same gifts were to be found more or less in all, and this was the moment which gave birth to the new political education of the Italian people, and created the modern science of statesmanship.

Since the year 1492 the Venetian ambassador Zaccaria Contarini had forwarded to his government very minute reports of the commercial, political and administrative condition of France. In his opinion it was impossible that that country should ever decide upon the expedition to Italy, encompassed as it was by dangers and enemies, and with a monarch, who, according to him, was fit for little either mental or bodily.* But in that same year, the king pacified England by gold, Spain by the surrender of Roussillon and other lands on the Pyrenean frontier, and Maximilian by a treaty guaranteeing other important cessions.† Lodovico il Moro bound himself to give arms and money, and free passage to the Italian army. And at the same time he continued his secret negotiations with several Italian States; and promised the hand of his daughter Bianca and a rich dowry to Maximilian, in exchange for the investiture of Milan.‡ Nevertheless matters had not yet reached a definite con-

* Albéri, *Relaziqni degli Ambasciatori Veneti.* Series I., vol. iv., page 16 and fol.

† C. De Cherrier, *Histoire de Charles VIII. roi de France*, 2 vols., Paris, Didier, 1868, vol. i., page 235. This valuable work must be read with caution, since it is not free from mistakes; and the author has not availed himself of all the materials within his reach, neither has he always consulted the best authorities.

‡ *Ibidem*, page 242.

clusion. The Florentine ambassador wrote from Naples: "The Duke of Bari" (thus to his great annoyance Lodovico il Moro was always entitled) "has much delight in keeping things unsettled, and forms a thousand projects at present only successful in his own imagination. Therefore it is necessary to be upon our guard."*

Casa, the Florentine orator, at the French Court, in June 1493, still considered the enterprise impossible, on account of the general disorder and the weakness of the king, who allowed himself to be pulled this side and that, and was so incapable as to be ashamed to give his own opinion.† But later, seeing that the king had decided against the judgment of the most influential men, and that preparations went on in spite of every opposition, he became almost doubtful of his own judgment, and wrote: "To understand things here, it were needful to be a magician or prophet; to be prudent does not suffice. This affair may turn out any way."‡ And Gentile Becchi, another orator who arrived in September, wrote to Piero di Medici, "that matters had gone so far that it was impossible to hope that those bronze-headed Frenchmen could be turned aside from their purpose."§ "This snake has its tail in Italy. The Italians are urging things on with all their might; Lodovico would like to overthrow Naples only,

* Letter from Piero Alamanni to Piero dei Medici, written from Naples the 2nd January, 1493. Vide Desjardin, *Negociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. i., page 442.

† Desjardin, same work, vol. i., page 227.

‡ Desjardin, same work, vol. i., page 256: letter of 18th September, 1493.

§ Desjardin, same work, vol. i., page 237: letter of 20th September, 1493.

and remain winner of the game; but his rage has led him into the trap prepared for others.* The best plan therefore was to swing at anchor between Naples and Milan; let those scratch themselves who have the itch.† To stop all this it would be necessary to spend more money than Lodovico; so now the expedition will be undertaken, and if the king wins, *actum est de omne Italia*, everything will be topsy-turvy; if he loses he will revenge himself upon the Italian merchants in France, especially upon yours."‡ Piero dei Medici still hoped to win over Lodovico, and Becchi, who had known him from the cradle, almost scolded him, writing: "Attend to your own affairs, for you have a world of trouble before you. Do you think that Lodovico does not know the peril to which he is exposing himself and others? With your counsels you will only make him more obstinate."§ New ambassadors were sent, among them Piero Capponi, who at that time appeared to be a friend of Piero dei Medici; and all wrote decidedly that nothing was to be done, but to prepare for defence.

Meanwhile the Florentine ambassadors at Milan could get very little information out of Lodovico. Agnolo Pandolfini, who was there in 1492 and 1493, found him

* Desjardin, same work, vol. i., pp. 330 and 331: letters of 28th and 29th September, 1493.

† Desjardin, same work, vol. i., page 350: letter of 21st November, 1493.

‡ Desjardin, same work, vol. i., page 358: letter of 17th January, 1494. See also at pages 350 and 352 the letters of the 29th November and 9th December, 1493.

§ Desjardin, same work, vol. i., page 359: letter of 22nd and 23rd January, 1494.

employed in weaving plots and consulting astrologers, in whom he had the profoundest faith. He said that he wished to bridle the mouth of Ferrante, who was too fond of novelty. In 1494 the die was cast, but even then the Ambassador Piero Almanni could learn nothing from him. "You always speak to me of this Italy, whose countenance I have never beheld. No man has ever given thought to my affairs, therefore I have had to assure them as best I might."* And when the ambassador pointed out to him the danger in which he had placed himself, he replied that he saw it clearly; but that the worst danger was "to be held a fool." Then, almost laughing at him, he added: "Speak then; what would the Florentines suggest? Be not enraged, but help me to think."† Nor could anything more be extracted from him. From Venice the ambassadors wrote that the Venetians maintained an extreme reserve, and changed the conversation whenever the French were mentioned. "They believe that it will best serve their turn to remain at peace themselves, and let the other Italian powers spend and suffer.‡ They distrust all the world, and are persuaded that they are rich enough to hire at any moment as many men at arms as they may need, and thus always have it in their power to make things go the way they will."§

* Letter of 31st March, 1494. See Appendix, Doc. p. I.

† Desjardin, vol. i., page 555: letter of 7th June, 1494.

‡ Desjardin, vol. i., page 504: letter of 12th August, 1494.

§ Desjardins, same work, vol. i., page 514: letter of 20th September, 1494. These letters are nearly all from Paolo Antonio Soderini to Piero dei Medici. When shortly afterwards, the latter was driven to take refuge in Venice, Soderini, who had already declared for the new Government,

The King of Naples, meanwhile, was a prey to the greatest agitation, and with the aid of Pontano, wrote letters that were sometimes almost prophetic of the evils about to overwhelm Naples and the whole of Italy. The Pope could not forgive him for having opposed his election, and for having seconded the sale of Cervetri and Anguillara to the Orsini. His niece, Isabella, the wife of Galeazzo Sforza, was kept like a prisoner by Ludovico, who was convulsing all Italy by his dark designs; his daughter, Eleonora, wife of Ercole d'Este, and the only person who had any soothing influence over the Moor, had died in 1493; his other daughter, Beatrice, had been repudiated by the King of Hungary, and

hardly looked at him. Speaking of this, De Commines, who had changed his flag so many times, says that Soderini "estoit des saiges hommes qui fussent en Italie." Ph. de Commines, *Memoires*, vol. xi., page 359, Dupont edition. See also: *Lettres et Négociations de Ph. de Commines*, by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (3 vols.) Brussells, 1867-74. This is a very valuable work. Piero Capponi, who tore the contract in Charles' VIII.'s face and so greatly contributed to the expulsion of the Medici, had been, while in Paris, the confidant of Piero. Commines, however, is scandalised this time and styles him a traitor (*Memoires*, vol. xi., page 340); but he had personal motives for disapproving Capponi. When together with Etienne de Vesc and Briçonnet he tried to hatch intrigues in Piero dei Medici's favour, it was Capponi who replied to him "*comme par mocquerie.*" Lettenhove, vol. xi., pp. 98 and 144. It must, however, be remembered that when Capponi received from the bishop of St. Malo proposals adverse to the Medici, he wrote to Piero on the subject saying, "I am sure that you have no one who treats your affairs with more zeal than myself." Desjardin, *Négociations*, etc., vol. i., page 393 and fol. It is true that his conduct was not very open; but we cannot rely upon De Commines' judgment of him, for he was then intriguing on his own account. In his opinion Ludovico had given too little money to the king's ministers: "Si argent ils devoient prendre, ils en devoient demander plus." (Commines as quoted by Lettenhove, vol. xi., page 97).

the Pope favoured the dissolution of the marriage.* Meanwhile, all men spoke of the speedy arrival of the French! At one moment there was a glimmer of hope when the Pope proposed to marry one of his sons to a natural daughter of the king; but his Holiness afterwards drew back as though he had only been mocking him. Ferrante then wrote to his ambassador in Rome, with bitter complaints of the Pope's conduct at the moment when they were about to mingle their blood. "Keep in mind," he said in conclusion, "that we are no longer young, nor mean to let him lead us by the nose." †

Alexander VI. cared little for all this, and continued his negotiations with Venice and Milan; whereupon the king wrote: "From whom does he wish to defend himself, when no one is attacking him? It seems to be our fate that the popes should leave no one in peace, but try to ruin all Italy. We are now forced to take arms; but the Duke of Bari should think of what may be the consequences of the tumult he is fomenting. He who arouses this storm will not be able to quell it at his own pleasure. Let him think well of the past, and he will see that whenever internal dissensions have brought foreign powers into Italy, they have oppressed and tyrannised over the land in a way that has left its traces

* Beatrice had married Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, on the 25th June 1475. After his death, she espoused Ludovic, King of Hungary, the 23d July 1493. This marriage being dissolved, she returned to Naples in 1501, and died in 1508.

† *Codice Aragonese*, published by Commendatore Trinchera, head director of the Neapolitan Archives, in 3 vols, Naples 1866-74. The letter we quote is dated 11th April 1493, and is in vol. xi., part 1, page 355.

to the present day."* And shortly afterwards he wrote to his ambassador in Spain, in the tone of a man driven to desperation: "This Pope plainly intends to overturn all Italy. In order to gain money, he is about to create at one stroke thirteen cardinals, from whom he will extract no less than 300,000 ducats. He found all tranquil, and immediately began to make plots and create tumults." "He leads a life that is the "abomination of all men, without respect for the chair, "which he occupies, nor care of aught but of exalt- "ing his children by hook or by crook, and this is his "sole desire; and it seems to him a thousand years "before he can go to war, for, from the beginning of his "pontificate, nothing else has he done, save troubling "himself and molesting all men, now in one way, now in "another. . . . And Rome is more full of soldiers than "of priests; and when he goes about Rome, it is with "squadrons of men-at-arms before him, with helmets on "their heads and lances by their sides, for all his mind "is given to war, and to our harm, nor does he omit any- "thing that he can machinate against us, not only stirring "up in France the Prince of Salerno, and some other of "our rebels, but in Italy, encouraging every desperate "character whom he deems adverse to us: and in all "things he proceeds with fraud and dissimulation, accord- "ing to his nature, and to make money, he sells every "smallest office and benefice."†

* *Codice Aragonese*, vol. xi., part 1, p. 394: Letter of 24th April 1493.

† *Codice Aragonese*, vol. xi., part 11, page 41 and fol.: Letter of 7th June 1493.

Yet, in August, Virginio Orsini bound himself to pay to the Pope, in return for free possession of the disputed estates, the sum of 25,000 ducats, under the guarantee of Ferrante and Piero dei Medici;* and on the same day, a contract of marriage was finally signed between Giuffrè Borgia, aged twelve, the Pope's son, and Doña Sancia, daughter of Alfonso of Aragon. She was represented by Don Federigo,† her uncle, who, as her proxy, received the nuptial ring amid the laughter of the guests, and especially of the Pope, who took him in his arms.‡ Ferrante was beside himself with joy at this marriage, which was to be kept secret until Christmas. He was now so full of hope, that on the 5th December

* Piero dei Medici always gave his support to Ferrante. See the letters written by him to his ambassador at Naples, in July 1493. They are to be found in the Archives at Florence, cl. x., dist. 1, No. 1, Doc. 6.

† Prince of Altamura, Alfonso's brother, and King Ferrante's second son.

‡ Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, etc., Vol. vii., p. 332 (2d edition). See also in the *Codice Aragonese*, the letters of 3rd August and 29th August 1493, pages 198, 200, and 223. But in these letters apparently some of the dates are misprinted. The Florentine ambassador, A. Guidotti, in a letter of 17th August 1493, directed to the Eight (Archivio Fiorentino, cl. x., dist. 2, No. 18, doc. 21) gives minute details of the agreement with the Orsini and of the marriage contract, in which was inscribed, how "the "Pope came into affinity with the most serene King Ferdinand, and how in "the stead and name of their excellent Majesties, Don Federigo promised to "give to wife to the most illustrious Don Geffré, *His Holiness's son*, "Madonna Xances, daughter of the Duke of Calabria. . . . Such contract "being stipulated and consented to by the parties, then *per verba de presenti*, "Don Geffré contracted matrimony with Madonna Xances in the person of "Don Federigo, her proxy, to whom *in signum matrimonii*, he gave and his "Excellency received the ring, nor did this act of standing in the place of a "woman, and as a woman receiving the ring, pass without much laughter "and merriment, and lastly with great gaiety Don Federigo was embraced "as a relative by the Pope, and by all the relations of His Holiness."

he proposed an Italian league to the Pope.* But before Christmas, Alexander had already changed his mind, and had allied himself to Ludovico. "We and our father," now wrote the king to his ambassador, "have always obeyed the popes, yet there has not been one who has not sought to work us the greatest ill in his power. And with this pope, albeit he be of our own country, it has been impossible to have a single day's peace. Truly we know not why he tries to trouble us in this wise, unless it be by the influence of the heavens, and to follow the example of the others, for it seems our fate that all popes should torment us." "He seeks to keep us "in continual suspense, while we have not a hair upon "us that has ever thought of giving him the least cause "for it."†

The king now saw that the inevitable catastrophe was at hand, he felt that his strength was failing, that death was near and that his kingdom would be shattered to pieces. His anguish was apparent in every line of his letters in which he continually harped upon the same theme, now with bursts of hot wrath, now with forebodings of humiliation. On the 17th January 1494, he wrote what may be considered his last letter. "Lodovico counsels the Pope to keep up appearances with us, so that if the French should not come, he may still be able to come to an arrangement with us, although as Ludovico says, we do not desire him for our chaplain, much less

* *Codice Aragonese*, Vol. ii., Part ii., page 322 : letter of 5th December 1493.

† *Codice Aragonese*, Vol. i., Part ii., page 348 and fol.: letter of 18th December 1493.

for our relative. If after all the French come, then he will be freed from all fear of us, or of the Orsini and the other barons, whose lands he may then bestow upon his children; and thus the Pontiffs will in future be able to rule their States, rod in hand. In this way Ludovico continues to set Italy ablaze, as he himself allows; but he adds that the Pope must not think too much of the ills of Italy, because to avoid perpetual fever, one must put up with tertian ague. And the Pope being both keen and timid, lets himself be entirely dominated by Ascanio and guided by Ludovico; so that in vain we seek to persuade him to enjoy his papacy in peace, without mixing himself up in party intrigues like some mercenary leader, as the Duke of Bari would have him do. The latter asserts that we only make a show of warlike preparations, and that in any great emergency we would even have recourse to Turkish aid. But we are prepared to defend ourselves, and we shall be ready for the most desperate resolves, if others will respect neither faith, country, nor religion. We remember that Pope Innocent himself wrote:—

"*Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.*"

Finally, as though he already beheld the dreaded enemy before him, he concluded with these almost prophetic words: "Never did Frenchmen come into Italy, "without bringing it to ruin, and this coming of theirs "is of a sort, if one well considers it, that must bring "universal ruin, although they threaten us alone."*

* *Codice Aragonese*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 421. After this come only a few very brief letters of Ferrante.

And Ferrante, his mind distracted by these tormenting thoughts, finally ceased to breathe after a three days' illness, on the 25th January 1494.* He was succeeded by Alfonso, who, more impetuous, more cruel, and of less capacity than his father, now perceived the desperate condition of his kingdom, and sought for aid from the Pope, from Ludovico, from the Turk, and from all in vain, for now the coming of the French was inevitable—inevitable therefore, the fall of the Aragonese in Naples.

Meanwhile, Piero dei Medici in Florence was indifferent to everything; his inclinations were in favour of the Aragonese, but his chief occupation lay in tilting matches;† the Venetians looked on quietly; Ferrara declared herself friendly to France; Bologna made an alliance with Lodovico; the Pope, always true to his character, alarmed by the threat of a council that Charles VIII. talked of assembling, declared that he should give him a friendly reception in Rome,‡ while at the same time he despatched one of his nephews to Naples to place the crown on King Alfonso's head. Confusion was at its height, and the Italian exiles pushed on the

* *Cronaca di Notar Giacomo*, Naples 1845, p. 178. Guicciardini and Machiavelli pretend that King Ferrante at the last wished to throw himself into Ludovico's hands, and Machiavelli adds that he desired to take his daughter from Gian Galeazzo and give her to the Moor, evidently forgetting that she was the mother of three children and that Ludovico had a wife.

† *Vide* his letters dated 5th and 23d January 1494, among the documents published by A. Cappelli, under the title: *Fra Girolamo Savonarola and notices of his times*, Modena, 1869.

‡ Brief of the 1st February 1494, in the *Archivio Storico* (*Annali* by Malipiero,) vol. vii., p. 404.

French expedition with greater urgency than ever, each one hoping in this way to revenge his own particular wrongs upon existing governments.

On the first of March, Charles VIII. made his state entry into Lyons, to assume the command of the expedition; an advanced guard under the Scotchman d' Aubigny, was already pushing towards the Neapolitan frontier, and the Duke of Orleans was at Genoa. The Neapolitans on their side sent the Prince of Altamura with thirty galleys towards Genoa, while the Duke of Calabria, an inexperienced youth, entered the Pontifical States, under the guidance of tried generals, among whom was G. G. Trivulzio, a valiant Milanese exile. The Pope seemed to have lost his head, and no longer knew what course to adopt. Yet, taking advantage of the emergency, he asked the Sultan to anticipate the yearly payment of the 40,000 ducats due to him for the custody of Djem, and in order to frighten the Turk, he added that the French were coming to liberate that prince, in order with his help to carry the war into the East. And the Pope would have obtained this money, had not the ambassador who brought it, been seized and robbed at Sinigaglia, in the month of September by the Prefect Giovanni della Rovere, brother of the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincoli.*

* On the person of the Ambassador Bozardo, besides the 40,000 ducats, a letter from the Sultan to the Pope was found, offering 300,000 ducats more for Djem's dead body, and concluding thus: "In this way, the worthy father of the Catholic Church could purchase states for his children and our brother Djem would find repose in the other life." Both the letter and that of the Pope to the Sultan are to be found in Burckhardt's Diary and in Sanudo's *De adventu Karoli regis Francorum in Italiam*, a

Charles the VIII. having passed the Monginevra, entered Asti in the first days of September. He soon received intelligence that Don Federico and the Neapolitan fleet had been repulsed with heavy losses before Porto Venere, and that the Duke of Orleans and his Swiss had entered Rapallo, sacked the place, and put all the inhabitants, even the sick in the hospital, to the sword, thereby striking terror into the Italians, who were unaccustomed to carry on war in so sanguinary a fashion. On reaching Piacenza, the king learnt that Gio. Galeazzo, whom he had recently seen at Pavia, had just died there, poisoned, as all men said, by the Moor, who after celebrating his obsequies at Milan, had entered St. Ambrogio, at the hour indicated by his astrologer, to consecrate the investiture already granted to him by Maximilian, King of the Romans. All this filled the minds of the French with suspicion, almost with terror; they were beginning to understand the nature of their closest ally's good faith. In fact, while Ludovico with one hand collected men and money for their cause, with the other he wove the threads of a league intended to drive them from Italy, when the moment should arrive. In 1493, Perrone dei Baschi, a man of Italian origin, had come to visit the Courts of

work still in great part unpublished, and of which the original MS. is in the National Library in Paris. A copy which I caused to be made of it, with the assistance of our Ministry of Public Instruction, is in the library of St. Mark at Venice, and Professor Fulin has commenced its publication in the *Ateneo Veneto*. It may be considered as the 1st vol. of the *Diarii*, by the same author, since they begin where this leaves off. See Cherrier, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 415; Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, etc. (2d edition), vol. vii., p. 350, note (1.)

the Peninsula, *carrying back wind for his pains*, as Piero dei Medici wrote.* Next came Philippe de Commines, a man of much acuteness and talent, though of no integrity of character, and well acquainted with Italy, where he had already been several times before, but he found at no Court any hope of assured friendship, much less of material assistance, although many looked forward to the arrival of the French as a means of promoting their own designs. He who in his *Memoirs* said of the men of his own time: "Nous sommes affoiblies de toute foy "et loyaulté, les uns envers les aultres, et ne sçauroye "dire par quel lieu on se pouisse asseurer les uns des "aultres,"† experienced in Italy, the truth of his observations, and discovered that he was among a people still keener and more cunning than himself.‡

Nevertheless the fortunes of the French prospered rapidly. The Duke of Calabria, having entered Romagna, withdrew across the Neapolitan frontier at the first glimpse of D'Aubigny's forces; and the bulk of the French army, commanded by the King in person, marched through the Lunigiana without encountering obstacles of any kind. After taking Fivizzano, sacking it, and putting to the sword the hundred soldiers who defended it, and part of the inhabitants, they pushed on towards Sarzana, through a barren district, between the mountains and the sea, where the slightest resistance might have proved fatal to them. But the small castles,

* See the previously quoted inedited letters of Piero dei Medici, and those published by Desjardin.

† *Mémoires*, vol. i., p. 156.

‡ Lettenhove, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 194; vol. ii., pp. 108 and 123.

intended for the defence of these valleys, yielded one after the other, without any attempt to resist the invaders; and hardly had the siege of Sarzana commenced than Piero dei Medici arrived, frightened out of his senses, surrendered at discretion, and even promised to pay 200,000 ducats.

But on Piero's return to Florence on the 8th of November, he found that the city had risen in revolt, and sent ambassadors to the French King on its own account to offer him an honourable reception; but that at the same time it was making preparations for defence in case of need. So great was the public indignation that Piero took flight to Venice, where his own ambassador, Soderini, hardly deigned to look at him, having meanwhile declared for the republican government just proclaimed in Florence, where everything had been rapidly changed. The houses of the Medici, and their garden at St. Mark had been pillaged, exiles had been recalled and acquitted; a price put on Piero's head and that of his brother, the Cardinal. At the same time, however, Pisa had risen in rebellion under the eyes of King Charles, and cast the Marzocco * into the sea; Arezzo and Montepulciano, too, had followed Pisa's example. The fabric, so long and so carefully built up by the Medici, was now suddenly crumbling into dust.

On the 17th November Charles VIII., at the head of his formidable army, rode into Florence with his lance in rest, believing that that fact sufficed to make him master of the city. But the Florentines were armed, they had

* The lion with the lily, ensign of the Florentine Republic.

collected six thousand soldiers within the walls, and they knew perfectly well that from the vantage posts of towers and houses, they could easily worst an army scattered through the streets. They therefore repulsed the King's insolent proposals, and when he threatened to sound his trumpets, Piero Capponi, tearing up the offered treaty, replied that the Florentines were more ready to ring their bells. Through this firmness equitable terms were arranged. The Republic was to pay 120,000 florins in three quotas; the fortresses, however, were to be speedily restored to her. On the 28th November the French left the city, but not without stealing all that remained of the collection of antiquities in the Medici Palace. Commines tells us that all did the best they could for themselves, and that the highest officers stole most. Nevertheless the citizens were thankful to be finally delivered alike from old tyrants and new invaders.

Having reached Rome, Charles VIII., in order to have done with the Pope,* who now seemed inclined for resistance, pointed his guns against the Castle of St Angelo, and thus matters were soon settled. On the 17th June 1495, Briçonnet was nominated Cardinal of St Malò, and the King attended a grand mass celebrated by the Pope in person, who was so little accustomed to perform any

* At this juncture a circumstance occurred which caused much mirth to all Italy. The Beautiful Giulia, her sister, and Madonna Adriana had fallen into the hands of the French. At this the Pope was in despair, and knew no peace until his Giulia and her companions were liberated on payment of the sum of 3,000 ducats. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, vol. i., page 81.

religious ceremonies, that he was only enabled to go through it by the help of Cardinal di Napoli, who filled the office of prompter.

In accordance with the treaty signed in Rome, Charles VIII. continued his journey towards Naples, accompanied by the Cardinal of Valencia as hostage, together with Prince Djem. On their arrival at Velletri, however, the Cardinal had vanished; his plate-chests had already stopped half-way; the trunks containing his baggage, with which seventeen mules were loaded, were discovered to be empty; Djem fell so gravely ill upon the way that he died directly he reached Naples. Everybody said that he had been poisoned by the Borgias; but the Venetians, who always had accurate intelligence from their ambassadors, asserted on the contrary that he had died a natural death.* The King was highly indignant at the Cardinal's escape, and exclaimed: "Perfidious Lombard, and more perfidious Pope!" † His attempts to recapture the Cardinal were all in vain. Scarcely

* Cherrier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., page 137, gives a translation of the letter, in which the Ten mention this event. And in fact the Borgias, by Djem's decease, lost the annual payment of 40,000 ducats, without obtaining the 300,000 promised to them on receipt of his corpse. Sanudo recounts the rise and progress of Djem's malady. It was a feverish cold, which the doctors treated with bloodletting and other energetic remedies. At Aversa he was already so much worse, that he had to be carried on *a bier*.—(*De adventu Karoli regis*, page 212 of the copy in the Library of St Mark). This author, according to his wont, refers to the letters of the Venetian ambassador, who was present, and who observes that Djem's death had been hurtful to Italy, "and especially to the Pope, who was thus deprived of "the 40,000 golden ducats, yearly paid to him by his brother (the Sultan) "for keeping Djem in safe custody." Following the Venetian orthography, "we write Sanudo; some authors call him Sanuto.

† Sanudo, *De adventu*, etc., page 230.

encountering any obstacles, Charles led his army on to Naples. Alfonso of Aragon renounced the throne, and fled to Sicily; Ferdinand II., or Ferrandino, as he was called, after vainly seeking aid from all, even from the Turk, made a fruitless stand at Monte San Giovanni, which was taken, destroyed, and all its population put to the sword.* Gian Giacomo Trivulzio deserted the Aragonese, and passed over to the enemy; Virginio Orsini prepared to do the same; Naples rebelled in favour of the French, who marched in on the 22d of February. The following day Ferrandino fled to Ischia, then to Messina. And shortly the ambassadors of the Italian States appeared to offer congratulations to the conqueror.

Now at last the Venetians were aroused, and having sent their envoys to Milan to know if Ludovico were disposed to take up arms to drive out the French, they found him not only ready to do so, but full of indignation. "The king has no head," he said, "he is in the hands of persons who only think of getting money, and would not make half a wise man." He recalled the haughtiness with which he had been treated by the French, and declared himself resolved to join in any league in order to drive them from the country. He advised that money should be sent to Spain and to Maximilian, to induce them to attack France; but added that care must be taken not to call them into Italy,

* "Il ne sembloit point aux nôtres, que les Italiens fussent hommes," wrote de Commines *à propos* of French cruelties.

"since having already one fever here, we should then have two." *

A league was in fact concluded between the Venetians, Ludovico, the Pope, Spain and Maximilian. And Philip de Commines, who was ambassador to Venice and who at the news of his king's entry into Naples, had beheld the Senators so cast down, that, as he says, the Romans after the defeat at Cannae could not have been "plus esbahis ne plus espouvantés," † now found them full of courage and indignation. The Neapolitans, soon wearied of bad government, had risen in revolt, and Charles VIII. after a stay of only fifty days in Naples had to make his departure with excessive haste, before every avenue of retreat should be cut off, leaving hardly more than 6,000 men in the kingdom, and taking with him a numerous army, which however only numbered 10,000 real combatants. On the 6th of July a pitched battle took place at Fornuovo near the river Taro. The allies had assembled about 30,000 men, three-fourths of whom were Venetians, the rest composed of Ludovico's soldiers and a few Germans sent by Maximilian. At the moment of attack they had in fighting array double the number of the French force; but half of them remained unused owing to a blunder of Rodolfo Gonzaga, while the enemy were in good order, with their vanguard under the command of G. G. Trivulzio, who, notwithstanding that he was in arms against his own

* This letter is to be found in Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, vol. v., page 50. See also Cherrier, *Histoire de Charles VIII.*, vol. ii., page 97.

† Commines, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 168; Cherrier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 151.

countrymen, displayed great valour and military genius. The battle was bloody, and it was a disputed question which side obtained the victory; but although the Italians were not repulsed, remaining indeed masters of the field, the French succeeded in cutting their way through, which was the chief object they had in view. The king made a halt at Asti and received the Florentine ambassadors, to whom he again promised to deliver up the strongholds held by his forces—the city of Pisa included—and received 30,000 ducats in lieu of the 120,000 promised in Florence, but gave in pledge jewels of an equal value, to be restored to him as soon as the fortresses should be given up. Besides this the Florentines promised 250 men-at-arms to help the King's cause in Naples, as well as a loan of 70,000 ducats, which, however, they never gave, as they did not receive the fortresses.* Ludovico, taking advantage of the situation, soon made an agreement with the French on his own account, without concerning himself about the Venetians; he believed that in this wise he had freed himself from both, but in reality he had earned the hatred of both, as he was soon driven to confess.

The fortunes of the French now declined rapidly in Italy, and all the more speedily owing to their bad government in the Neapolitan kingdom, and their abominable behaviour towards the few friends who had remained faithful to them. In fact, Captain d'Entrangues, in direct violation of all his sovereign's promises,

* This treaty is to be found in Desjardin, *op. cit.*, vol. i.; p. 630. See also Cherrier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 293.

gave up the citadel of Pisa, on receipt of a bribe to the inhabitants of that city, who took possession of it on the 1st January 1496, to the bitter mortification of the Florentines. Later, for more money, he surrendered Pietrasanta to the Lucchesi; other captains in imitation of his example, yielded Sarzana and Sarzanello.* Meanwhile Ferdinand II., with the aid of the Spaniards under Consalvo di Cordova, advanced triumphantly through Calabria and entered Naples on the 7th of July 1496. In a short time all the Neapolitan fortresses capitulated, and the French who had held them returned to their own country, more than decimated and in an altogether deplorable condition. On the 6th of October Ferdinand II. breathed his last, worn out by the agitation and fatigues of the war, and was succeeded by his uncle Don Federico,† the fifth King who had ascended the Neapolitan throne within the last five years. He was crowned by the Cardinal of Valencia.

Once more Italy beheld herself freed from foreigners. It is true that the same year witnessed a brief invasion by Maximilian, who at Ludovico's instigation, came to help Pisa and prevent her from falling into the hands of either the Florentines or Venetians; but he came with a small following, found no supporters, and went away without having accomplished anything. In fact Naples was now in the absolute power of the Spaniards, who were already maturing

* Cherrier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., page 338.

† Ferdinand I., Alfonso II., Charles VIII., Ferdinand II., Federico.

their iniquitous designs upon the kingdom; these, however, were only discovered at a later period. Charles VIII. declared himself a penitent man, talked of changing his mode of life, of punishing the Pope, and renewing the Italian expedition; but meanwhile he remained in France and abandoned himself to excesses. Thus, at least in appearance, all was tranquil. But on the 7th of April 1498, the King died of apoplexy; with his death the line of the Valois became extinct, and he was succeeded by the Duke of Orleans under the title of Louis XII. In consequence of his relationship with the Visconti, this potentate had always asserted rights upon the Duchy of Milan. Now in assuming the French crown, he could lay claim to other rights in Italy, and had also the power to assert them openly. And in fact, his reign initiated the long series of fresh invasions which heaped so many calamities upon our land.

3. The Borgia.

While, however, the apparent peace lasted, general attention was fixed upon the events occurring in Rome and the Roman territory. Alexander VI. had profited by the ill-fortune of the French, to confiscate the possession of the Orsini, who had deserted the Aragonese to go over to Charles VIII., and after abandoning him, as soon as they saw his luck beginning to turn, had joined his party once more. In this way, Virginio Orsini had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards when they came to replace Ferdinand II. on the Neapolitan

throne. According to the terms of the treaty, they ought to have sent him across the frontier, but the Pope opposed the idea fiercely, even with threats of excommunication, for his object was the extermination of the Orsini family. Upon this Virginio was shut up in the Castel dell Uovo at Naples, and there died. His followers were in the meantime stripped of everything in the Abruzzi; where also Alviano and Giovan Giordano Orsini were made prisoners. This was the moment chosen by the Pope to declare war against these, his perpetual enemies, who were still both numerous and powerful. On the 27th October, his troops under the command of the Duke of Urbino and Fabrizio Colonna, took the field against the Orsini who had withdrawn to Bracciano. Although the principal members of the family were in captivity, and many cruel blows had been that year inflicted upon all their race; yet they were still strong enough to measure their forces with his. Their hopes rose high, when Bartolommeo d' Alviano,* having escaped from prison, arrived at Bracciano with a handful of his men. Very shortly the conflict began in earnest, and not only Alviano, but also his wife, the sister of Virginio Orsini, distinguished themselves by their valour. In the first skirmishes the Papal troops were continually worsted. Afterwards, Carlo Orsini and Vitellozzo Vitelli arrived from France; but the Pope's army receiving reinforcements at the same time, on the 23rd of January 1497, a real battle took place, which terminated in a signal victory for the

* Bartolommeo d' Alviano di Todi, husband of Bartolommea Orsini.

Orsini. In the previous encounters, the Cardinal of Valencia had been hotly pursued up to the very walls of Rome; now the Duke of Gandia was wounded, the Duke of Urbino a prisoner, and the flight of Cardinal Lunate was so headlong, that he died from its effects. The enemies of the Borgia were in a state of exultation, and the Orsini were once more masters of the Campagna. The Pope, beside himself with rage, made fresh preparations for war, and had even appealed for aid to Consalvo de Cordova, when the Venetians came forward as mediators, and peace was made. The Orsini paid a sum of 50,000 ducats, but were reinstated in their own lands, and all those who were still prisoners in the Neapolitan kingdom, were liberated, excepting Virginio, who had expired before the news of the victory arrived. The Duke of Urbino, for whom they demanded a ransom of 40,000 ducats, was handed over to the Pope on account of the sum they owed him, and the Holy Father refused to set him at liberty, although his own Captain, until he paid the sum imposed by his enemies. The Duke who was the son of the celebrated Federico, had no family, and the Borgia made use of him as their defender, first despoiling him of his wealth and then, still more shamelessly, of his state.

Notwithstanding the hard terms of the peace, the Orsini were possessed of immense power; the Pope, detested by all men, could depend upon none excepting his 3000 Spaniards, and on the friendship shown to him by Consalvo de Cordova, who recaptured the Castle of Ostia for his benefit. As the Borgia could no

longer undertake fresh warlike enterprises, some demoniac impulse seemed to compel them to turn their weapons against themselves, and exterminate their own relations, under circumstances of incredible iniquity. On the night of the 14th June 1497, the Duke of Gandia never returned to his house. The day after, his groom was found wounded, without being able to give any account of his master; the mule ridden by the Duke was caught running about the streets with only one stirrup left, the other having been cut off. The mystery thickened. It appeared that on the preceding evening, the Duke had supped with his brother the Cardinal of Valencia, at the house of their mother Vannozza. They rode away together, but presently separated, the Duke being followed by a man in a mask, who for a long time had gone everywhere with him, and by the groom whom he left in the Piazza dei Giudei. This was all that could be ascertained. At first, the Pope took the matter lightly, thinking that his son was probably in hiding with some woman.* But when on the following night he was still missing, the Pope became violently alarmed, and showed the greatest agitation. Suddenly—no one knew how—a rumour spread through the city, that the Duke had been thrown into the Tiber.

One of the Sclavonians, trading in charcoal on the Ripetta, being questioned upon the subject, replied that while resting in his boat on the night of the 14th, he

* "Ipsum ducem alicubi cum puella intendere luxui sibi persuadens, et ob eam causam puellæ domum exire ipsi duci non licere," Burchardi *Diarium*, in the National Library of Florence, cod. ii., 150, fol. 21.

had seen a gentleman ride up, carrying a corpse behind him, and accompanied by two men on foot; and that all three disappeared as soon as they had thrown the body into the river. Being asked why he had not mentioned this fact sooner, he replied that he had seen the same sort of thing occur at the same place hundreds of times, night after night, without any one making any stir about it.* Numerous sailors were sent to drag the river, and the Pope's son was found with his boots, spurs, and mantle still on. His hands were tied; he had nine wounds about the head, arms, and body,—one, and that mortal, in his throat; there were thirty ducats in his purse,† an evident proof that robbery was not the object of the murder.‡ The corpse was solemnly interred in the church of Sta Maria del Popolo. Most people rejoiced at this assassination, though the Spaniards uttered curses and lamentations; and the Pope, when he learnt that his son had been cast into the Tiber like other rubbish from the Ripetta, abandoned himself to a grief of which no one had deemed him capable.§ He shut himself up in the castle of St Angelo, haunted, said many, by the duke's spectre, and wept bitterly. For many

* "Respondit ille; se vidisse suis diebus centum in diversis noctibus in "flumen proiici per locum prædictum, et nunquam aliqua eorum ratio est "habita; propterea de casu huiusmodi existimationem aliquam non fecisse." Burchardi *Diarium*, cod. ii., fol. 43. National Library, Florence.

† Burchard, Malipiero, Sanudo, &c

‡ The Duke of Gandia was twenty-four years of age, and through his descendants, the line of the Borgia was carried down to the eighteenth century. A nephew of his was the third general of the Jesuits.

§ "Pontifex, intellecto ducem interfectum, in flumen ut stercus proiec-"tum, computum esse, commota sunt omnia viscera eius." Burchardi. *Diarium*, cod. ii., fol. 23t.

days he refused food, and his cries could be heard from afar. On the 19th of June, he held a consistory, at which he declared that never had he experienced so heavy a sorrow: "If we had seven Papacies, we would give them all to bring the Duke to life." * He showed an apparently sincere repentance for his past life, and announced to all the potentates that he had entrusted the reform of the church to six cardinals: that this henceforward would be the sole aim of his existence.

These holy designs, however, speedily evaporated. Who was the author of the assassination? what had been his motives? The Orsini † were suspected; Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had recently had some differences with the Duke, was also accused, and the suspicions against him were so strong, that the Cardinal, even after receiving an explicit declaration from the Pope that he had never given credence to such rumours, thought fit to present himself to his Holiness, with an escort of faithful friends carrying hidden weapons.‡

* This speech of the Pope, reported by the Venetian ambassador, is to be found in Sanudo, and is quoted by Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.*, vol. iii., part 2, p. 338.

† Sanudo in his *Diarii*, of which the original is in the library of St Mark, cites various letters in proof that the Orsini were among the suspected. Manfredi, the Duke of Ferrara's ambassador to Florence, in the letters published by A. Cappelli, from which we have before quoted, gives one of the 12th August and another of the 22d December 1497, in the first of which it is mentioned that suspicion had fallen upon the Orsini, and in the second, upon Bartolommeo d'Alviano. Cappelli, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola e notizie intorno al suo tempo, etc.*

‡ The Florentine ambassador, Alessandro Bracci, gives details of this affair in his letters, which are to be found in MS. in the Florentine Archives, and are of considerable importance. That, however, of the 16th June, giving an account of the murder of the Duke of Gandia, is un-

Numberless researches were begun and then suddenly suspended;* and a generally credited rumour was spread that the Duke's assassin was no other than his own brother, Cardinal Cæsar Borgia. "And certainly," wrote the Florentine ambassador from the beginning, "whoever arranged the deed had plenty both of wits and courage; and however one may look at it, it was a master's stroke."† Gradually rumours ceased as to the author of the assassination; and people only made surmises as to his probable reasons for so abominable a crime.

Men spoke of the jealousy existing between the Cardinal and the Duke regarding Donna Sancia, Don Giuffrè's wife, who led a notoriously scandalous life. Worse things still were said, and people publicly talked of rivalry between the two brothers, saying that they disputed with their father the favours of their sister Lucrezia.‡ And these revolting rumours were noted

fortunately missing from the file. Archivio Fiorentino, *Lettere de Dieci di Balia da Maggio a Dicembre* 1497, cl. x., dist. 4, No. 54, sheet 53.

* Letter of A. Bracci, dated 4th July 1497, MS. above quoted, sheet 78.

† Letter of A. Bracci, dated 17th June 1497. See *Appendix*, doc. 11.

‡ The death of the Duke of Gandia is related in detail by all contemporary historians. Gregorovius, in his *Storia di Roma*, cites many original documents, among them a very remarkable letter from Ascanio Sforza to Ludovico the Moor, dated 16th June 1497 (vol. vii., p. 399, note 1). Burchard gives in his *Diario* a minute and tragic report of the event; Matarazzo, Malipiero, all contemporary writers, and the letters of private individuals and of the ambassadors resident in Rome, make mention of it. Sanudo quotes much from all these, and we perceive the extraordinary impression the deed had made in Rome, where men's imaginations were greatly excited. In a letter of the 16th June (Sanudo, vol. i., sheet 310), he says: "Maxima demonum caterva in basilica beati Petri audita e "visa fuit per plures, et ibidem tot et tanta luminaria, ut ipsa basilica "penitus a fundamentis supra ardere et comburi videretur: ecce quanta

and believed by grave historians; recalled by illustrious poets. Yet although every one repeated these things in public, and all looked upon Cardinal Cæsar Borgia as the author of the assassination; precisely for that reason he became the most powerful man in Rome, and likewise the most dreaded, for even the Pope seemed to cower beneath the mysterious fascination of his own son. Cæsar had now decided on forsaking the ecclesiastical career, and already there was some talk of making his brother, Don Giuffrè, Cardinal in his stead, who, for that end, was to be separated from his wife, so that she might marry Cæsar as soon as he should have become a layman.*

Meanwhile Alexander VI. continued his intrigues with the beautiful Giulia and several Spanish women. According to public rumour, he had had another son by a Roman woman, whose husband revenged himself by killing her father, who had sold her to His Holiness.† Lucrezia, who in the June of 1497, namely at the time that the Duke of Gandia was murdered by his brother,

"prodigia!" Letters of 17th December 1497 (vol. i., sheet 391), and other later ones quoted by the same (vol. i., sheet 408), repeat things of the same kind. We have still the letters in which the Pope announces the deed and his grief to the different powers, but from these nothing new is to be learnt. In a speech made at a Consistory, the Pope explicitly scouted the suspicions weighing upon Ascanio Sforza, the Prince of Squillace, and the Lord of Pesaro, which proves that such suspicions had been entertained. *Vide* Reumont, Geschichte, &c., and Sanudo, *Ragguagli storici*, published by Rawdon Brown (Venice, 1837-38, vol. i., p. 74.

* Sanudo mentions this at length in his *Diarii*, vol. i., sheet 556 and 559. Rawdon Brown gives some fragments of these in his before quoted work, vol. i., p. 212.

† Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, vol. i., page 48.

had been shut up in a convent, without any one knowing for what reason, was, in December, by command of her father, separated from her husband Giovanni Sforza, now declared to be impotent.* In March, 1498, according to accounts reported even by the ambassadors, she gave birth to an illegitimate child, whose parentage was involved in much mystery. On the one hand we find no further mention of him; on the other, some years afterwards a Giovanni Borgia appears, who by his age must have been born somewhere about 1498.† By a Brief of September 1st, 1501, the Pope legitimatized him as one of Cæsar's natural sons, calling him about three years old.‡ By a second Brief, dated the same day, he recognised him for his own son instead, with the proviso that, notwithstanding this,§ the preceding act of legitimacy

* On the 19th July, the Florentine ambassador, A. Bracci, wrote that a divorce was being arranged between the Lord of Pesaro and Donna Lucrezia, "whom his Holiness recalled to the palace three days after the Duke of Gandia's death, and who still remains there." In separating from the Lord of Pesaro, Lucrezia declared herself prepared to take her oath that she had never had any relation with her husband, and was therefore still a virgin. On this head, adds Matarazzo, at page 72: "Etiam advenga ad dio che fusse stata e fusse allor la piu gran p — — che fusse in Roma."

† Reumont in his *Storia di Roma* first believed him to be a son of Lucrezia; then a son of the Pope by an unknown mother (*Archivio Storico*, Series iii., vol. vii., dispensa 2nd, 1873, page 329). The documents published by Gregorovius in his *Lucrezia Borgia* (vol. i., p. 159 and fol.) throw a sinister light upon this event.

‡ "De dilecto filio nobili viro Cesare Borgia . . . . et soluta (muliere)." The Brief also states that Giovanni was three years old, *vel circa*. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, doc. 27.

§ "Cum autem tu defectum predictum (natalium) non de prefato duce *sed de nobis* et de dicta muliere soluta patiaris, quod *bono respectu* in letteris predictis specifice exprimere noluimus, etc." And it concludes saying that the preceding legitimization holds good and the power to inherit.

must be held good. And in fact this was done in order that the mysterious child might be able to legally inherit property. All the documents relating to this matter are to be found among Lucrezia's private archives at Modena. And at one period we find that she had with her in Ferrara this very Giovanni, of whom we can only say, that most certainly it was the fact of his existence which gave rise to all the disgusting rumours regarding the relations of the Pope with his own daughter. These rumours were chiefly propagated by her husband, Sforza, who at Milan plainly said that that was the reason why the Pope had insisted on separating him from his own wife.*

In the July of 1497, Cæsar Borgia went to Naples for the coronation of King Federico, and solicited for money, privileges and land, with so great an importunity that the Florentine ambassador wrote: "It would not be astonishing if the poor king had recourse to the Turk in his despair, were it only to free himself from these annoyances."† On the 4th of September he was again in Rome, where it was remarked that when he kissed the Pope neither of them uttered a syllable: Cæsar in those days spoke but little, and put all men in fear.‡ He

And according to Gregorovius, Alexander did all this, because although unable to legitimatize the child as his own, he wished to prevent Valentino from being able to annul the act of legitimacy, on the score of false grounds. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, doc. 28.

* See the despatch of the ambassador of Ferrara quoted by Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, vol. i., p. 101.

† Letter of the Florentine ambassador A. Bracci (of the 19th July, 1497), who says that he has these details from a person who is "a worthy prelate and inmate of the Vatican." Archivio Florentino.

‡ "Et bene non dixit verbum Papae Valentinus, nec Papa sibi, sed eŏ deosculato descendit de solio." Burchardi *Diarium*, cod. cit., sheet 39.

was in want of money to replace the revenues he lost in resigning his cardinal's hat, and to carry out his new and extended designs. Therefore the Pope who yielded to him in all things, set about finding new victims. His secretary Florido was accused of the composition of false Briefs, and instantly his house was pillaged, and all the money, hangings and plate it contained, conveyed to the Vatican. The unhappy prelate was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and shut up in a dungeon with some bread and water and a lantern. From time to time the Pope sent other prelates to visit him, in order that while playing at chess with him they might extract confessions that would implicate fresh victims. This went on till July, 1498, when the wretched man ceased to live.*

Meanwhile negotiations were being carried on with the King of Naples for the marriage of his daughter Carlotta with Cæsar who was still a cardinal. The king was sorely harassed by many vexations, and was heard to declare that he would rather lose his kingdom than bestow his legitimate daughter upon "a priest, the bastard of a priest."† Nevertheless to save himself from the Pope's heavy threats, and notwithstanding

* Burchardi *Diarium*, fol. 39. See also a letter of the ambassador A. Bracci, dated 27th Sept., 1497, cod. cit., fol. 144.

† According to Sanudo, the King had said: "Mi para el fiol del papa, "ch'è Cardinal, non sia in grado di darli mia fia per moglie, *licet* sia fio del "papa." *Diarii*, vol. i., part ii., p. 75. (See note 1 to following page). "The King wrote to his ambassador in France: "The unbearable anxiety "we have suffered in order to prevent the marriage . . . . between our "legitimate daughter and the Cardinal of Valencia, a thing most unsuitable "and contrary to all reason is already well known to you. Rather would "we have consented to lose our kingdom, our children and our life." *Archivio Storico*, vol. xv., p. 235.

the abominable rumours referred to above, and which were already in circulation, he was compelled to compromise matters by consenting to the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Don Alfonso,* Duke of Bisceglie, a youth barely seventeen, and a natural son of Alfonso II. The wedding was celebrated on the 20th June, 1498, "and the Pope," wrote the Venetian ambassador, "sat up till morning at the feast, *adeo* behaving like a young man."†

On the 13th August 1498 Cæsar made a declaration in the Consistory, to the effect that he had only accepted the Cardinalate to please the Pope; but that the ecclesiastical life did not suit him, and that he wished to forsake it. The Cardinals gave their consent, Alexander VI. cynically declared that he also consented for the good of Cæsar's soul, *pro salute animæ suæ;*‡ and the latter, as soon as he had thrown aside his frock, was sent as envoy to France, bearer of a Bull of divorce to Louis XII., who wished to be separated from his wife, and married to the widow of Charles VIII., who brought him Brittany as her dower. The King had already promised Cæsar the Duchy of Valentinois and a certain number of soldiers, who, under the French flag, would be of great assistance to him in his enterprise on Romagna. In order to procure the large sums of money necessary

* Not to exasperate the Pope, who plainly threatened him." *Archivio Storico*, vol. xv., p. 235.

† Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. i., part ii., p. 164. This second part of the 1st vol. is missing in the original MS. at St. Mark's Library, and is only to be found in the copy at the Imperial Library of Vienna.

‡ Brief of 3rd September 1498, in Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, etc., vol. vii., page 423.

for this French journey, which was to be on the most magnificent scale, many offices were sold, no less than three hundred individuals were accused of infidelity, and then allowed to purchase their pardon. On the same pretext the Pope's Maggiordomo was thrown into prison, and robbed of 20,000 ducats, which he had in his own house and in different banks.* The first of October 1498 Cæsar started for France with the Bull of divorce, a Cardinal's hat for Monseigneur d'Amboise, and a letter, in which the Pope told the King: "destinamus Maiestati tuæ *cor nostrum*, videlicet dilectum *filium* ducem Valentinensem quo nihil carius habemus." †

The ostentatious splendour of Cæsar and his train certainly dazzled the French; the costume of the new Duke of Valentinois was studded with jewels, and he scattered money broadcast in the streets. Yet he was unsuccessful in the fresh attempts he now made to obtain the hand of Carlotta d'Aragona, who was then at the French Court. It was in vain that the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli—at one time the Pope's enemy—used his best efforts in his favour.‡ The Duke

* In Sanudo's *Diarii*, vol. i., part ii., page 44, there is a letter dated August 1498, ending with these words, "In conclusion, he is a very bad Pope, and shrinks from no evil to swell his children's substance."

† This letter is in Molini's *Documenti di Storia Italiana*, Florence, 1836-37, vol. i., p. 28.

‡ Sanudo frequently mentions the reconciliation which had taken place between the Pope and Cardinal Della Rovere. The Prefect of Rome, often called Prefect of Sinigaglia, his place of abode, was the Cardinal's brother, and was not included in the reconciliation, for having (as before related) shared in the robbery of the Turkish ambassador; but he was afterwards pardoned by a Brief of the 18th November 1499. See Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, etc., vol. vii., p. 425-29.

ardently desired this marriage, in the hope that it might one day be the means of giving him possession of the kingdom of Naples; but the Princess, fully sharing her father's feelings, had a positive loathing for him.

Therefore Cæsar, having gained the Duchy of Valentinois and a hundred French spearmen, was obliged to content himself with espousing Carlotta, sister of Jean d'Albret, King of Navarre, and related to Louis XII. The latter monarch promised the Duke further aid, as soon as France should have conquered Milan, for which purpose he was gathering an army, and had already made an alliance with Venice (15th April 1499), to which the Pope, always ready to change sides, had also given his adherence. On that account a most lively altercation arose between the Pontiff and the Spanish ambassador. The latter threatened to prove that Alexander was not the true Pope, and Alexander in his turn threatened to have the ambassador cast into the Tiber, and to proclaim that the Queen Isabella was not, after all, "so chaste a woman as the world believed." * Nevertheless the Holy Father was considerably frightened, for although he had gone over to France, he still cherished many hopes concerning the kingdom of Naples, which could only be realised with the help of Spain. It is true that he was now fond of saying and repeating, that he wished to make Italy "all of one piece;" † but the Venetian ambassadors, who clearly saw through him, always maintained that this false and dissimulating man

* Sanudo *Diarii*, vol. ii., fol. 156.

† Sanudo *Diarii*, vol. ii., fol. 274. Further on in folio 393 there is a description of the Pope's changeable nature.

—still at the age of sixty-nine, of most robust health, and always given up to dissipation—daily changed his policy, and got up discussions with the sole intent of obtaining the kingdom of Naples for his son: having meanwhile "converted Rome into the *cloaca* of the world."*

On the 6th October 1499 Louis XII. entered Milan at the head of his army, which was under the command of G. G. Trivulzio; and Ludovico the Moor, who had prepared for defence, now seeing that he had both French and Venetians against him, and that his own people were forsaking him, thought it best to make his escape and go to Germany in search of aid. Meanwhile the ambassadors of the Italian States hastened to Milan to present their respects to the King, and with them also came Valentinois in person, with a small suite, and bearing the French flag. He assured himself of the friendliness of the victorious monarch, earned the promise of fresh help in the conduct of his sanguinary enterprises, contracted in Milan a debt of 45,000 ducats and he then went back again to Rome, where the Pope was collecting money for the same purpose in any and every way, honest or dishonest, and even by fresh assassinations. The Protonotary, Caetani, was thrown into prison, died, and his goods were confiscated; his nephew, Bernardino, was murdered by Valentinois's bravos, near Sermoneta, of which estate the Borgia immediately took possession.† Meanwhile Valentinois

* Sanudo *Diarii*, vol. ii., folio 326: the ambassador says that the Pope "wants the kingdom (of Naples) for his son."

† Afterwards this estate was restored to the Caetani by Julius II., who declared that they had been unjustly despoiled of it.

was nominated Gonfalonier of the Church, and he set out for Imola, after proclaiming the ejectment of the Lords of Romagna and the Marches, under the pretence of their having failed to pay the sums they owed to the Popes. To that place he had already forwarded his own men, who, together with his thousand Swiss, under the command of the *Bailli* of Dijon, made up an army of about 8,000 men. On the first of December Imola was taken, and afterwards Forlì, where, however, Caterina Sforza, who commanded the defence, held the fortress with determined valour up to the 12th January 1500, only yielding to the onslaught of the French. These, in admiration of her manly courage, saved her both from Valentinois' soldiery, and from the revenge of the Pope, who desired her immediate murder, because, in his opinion, "the Sforza family were the spawn of hell serpents."* Thus Caterina was allowed to finish her days in Florence, in the Convent of the Murate.

After Forlì, Caesar captured Cesena, where he was obliged to pause. Louis XII. had returned to France, and General Trivulzio, whom he had left behind as governor, so greatly exasperated Milan and Lombardy by his tyrannous rule, that Ludovico, backed by a Swiss army, and favoured by the population, was able to repossess himself of his State, and entered his capital in triumph on the 5th of February. For this reason, Duke Valentinois's French troops were hastily recalled to join their companions already on the retreat, and he was com-

* Sanudo *Diarii*, vol. ii., folio 329.

pelled to suspend the war. He then determined to go to Rome, where the jubilee had begun to bring in large pecuniary supplies, which were as usual greedily seized and applied to the usual ends. Robed in black velvet, with a gold chain round his neck, and wearing a solemn and tragic aspect, Caesar made a grand, triumphal entry at the head of his army into the eternal city, where he was received by the Cardinals bareheaded. Proceeding a little further, he threw himself at the feet of the Pope, who, after exchanging a few words in Spanish with him *lacrimavit et rixit a un trato.** And now, as it was carnival time, great festivities were arranged. A figure representing *Victoria Julii Cesaris*, mounted upon a car constructed for the purpose, made the round of Piazza Navona, where *servatæ sunt fatuitates Romanorum more solito.*† And the festivities multiplied, when news arrived of the return of Louis XII into Italy at the head of a fresh army; and that Ludovico, betrayed and abandoned by his Swiss, had, on the 10th April, fallen into the hands of the French, together with his brother Ascanio. The latter was confined in the tower of Bourges in Berry, and was afterwards liberated; but Ludovico died in the castle of Loches, after ten years' imprisonment.

At the first announcement of these happy news, the Duke of Valentinois, certain of now being able to pursue his bloody enterprise in Romagna, found it impossible to restrain his joy. Close to St Peter's, a grand

* The Ambassador V. Cappello, in Sanudo, quoted by Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, &c., vol. viii., page 441.

† Burchardi *Diarium*, Cod. cit., folio 185.

bull fight was given, in which Caesar, "mounted on his "Spanish jennet, distinguished himself by killing six fierce "bulls, cutting off the head of one of them at a single "stroke, which appeared a mighty feat to all Rome." *

Meanwhile, pilgrims to the Jubilee continued to arrive in great numbers; there were more religious ceremonies than ever, and indulgences and receipts were proportionately swelled. The corpses of persons murdered during the night were found every morning in the streets of Rome, and not seldom the victims were prelates. One day (27th May) eighteen bodies were to be seen strung up on the Bridge of St Angelo. These were thieves executed by order of the Pope, among them the doctor to the hospital of St John Lateran, who was accustomed to spend his early mornings in robberies and assassinations.† No sooner did the confessor of the sick learn that any one of them had money, than he revealed it to the doctor, *qui dabat ei recipe*, and they then divided the booty between them.‡ This example of prompt and severe justice was only given, because thirteen of the men hung had robbed the French ambassador, with whom the Pope wished to keep upon friendly terms.§

* The narrative of P. Cappello, Venetian ambassador, published by Albéri in his *Relazioni*, &c., Series II., vol. ii., p. 10.

† "Singulis diebus bono mane exibat in habitu brevi hospitale cum balista, et interficiebat quos poterat commode, et pecunias corum auferebat." Burchard, *Diarium*, Cod., cit., folio 209.

‡ Burchard, *Diariam*, ibidem.

§ Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. iii., folio 141. The letters here given, dated 4th June 1500, speak of the pleasure of the King of France at this execution, and add that further, within ten days, all the Corsicans were driven away, who had been some of the worst assassins in Rome.

In the July of the same year another of the tragedies peculiar to the Borgia occurred. The Duke of Bisceglie, Lucrezia's husband, noticing that the friendship of the French had suddenly deprived him of the good-will both of the Pope and of Valentinois, no longer considered himself in safety. In 1499 he had witnessed the exile of his sister Donna Sancia, and seen how the Holy Father had threatened to drive her from her house by force, if she would not go quietly.* These and other signs awakened his suspicions, and after some hesitation, he suddenly fled to the Colonna at Gennazzano, intending afterwards to cross the Neapolitan border, and leaving his wife Lucrezia, who was in delicate health, in real or feigned sorrow. But in August he returned at her entreaty, and joined her at Spoleto, of which town she had been nominated regent. Thence they returned together to Rome.†

On the evening of the 15th July 1500 the Duke of Bisceglie coming down the steps of St Peter's was suddenly attacked by assassins, who wounded him about the head and arms, and then took flight. He ran into the Vatican, and related how and by whom he had been wounded to the Pope, who, as usual, was sitting with Lucrezia. She first fainted away, and then led her

* She returned, however, after a short absence.

† About this time, and before the affair of the Duke of Bisceglie, the Pope had been in danger through the fall of a roof in the Vatican. The Venetian Ambassador, paying him a visit on the 3rd July, found with His Holiness "Madonna Lucrezia, the princess, and her husband, and one of Madonna Lucrezia's damozels, who is a favourite with the Pope." Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. iii., folio 172.

husband to a chamber in the Vatican and attended to his wounds. For fear of poison, doctors were sent for from Naples. The sick man was nursed by his wife and his sister Donna Sancia, who "cooked for him in a pipkin," since there was no one to be trusted. But Valentinois said, "that which could not be done at dinner shall be done at supper;" and he kept his word. In fact, finding that the unhappy Duke was likely to recover in spite of the very severe wound in his head, he came suddenly into the room one evening, and having sent away the two ladies, who unresistingly obeyed, he had the Duke strangled in his bed by Don Micheletto.* Nor this time was much mystery made of the business. The Pope himself, after the first attempt, quietly remarked to the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Cappello—"The

* "Cum nôn vellet ex huiusmodi vulneribus sibi datis mori, in lecto "suo fuit strangolatus circa horam 19*m*, et in sero circa primam horam "noctis portatum fuit cadaver ad basilicam Sancti Petri." Burchard, *Diarium.* This is another of the facts related by nearly all contemporary historians and ambassadors, among whom we must specially mention the Venetian ambassador Paolo Cappello, then in Rome, and who, in his above quoted *Relazione*, minutely accounts all the particulars which we have given. His narrative agrees with that of Burchard and of Sanudo, the latter nearly always transcribing Cappello's Roman despatches either in full or in abridgement. After relating the deed, Sanudo (*Diarii*, vol. iii. folio 201) adds that the author of the crime was the same who had caused the murder of the duke of Gandia. Further on (folio 263 retro), he gives the orator's letters of the 18th and 20th July, stating that the Duke of Bisceglie had been murdered "because he had been trying to kill the Duke (Valentinois), and the Duke has had it done by some bowmen, and has had him cut to pieces in his own room." In the *Relazione*, written afterwards, when perhaps he had closer information, Cappello says instead, that Caesar had had him strangled by Don Micheletto. Further on, Sanudo (folio 273) quotes letters of the 23d and 24th August, in which it is narrated how the Pope made excuses for Cæsar, alleging that the Duke of Bisceglie wished to kill him.

Duke (Valentinois) says that he did not strike him; but if he had struck him it was only what he deserved." Valentinois, on the contrary, merely excused himself by saying that he had committed the crime because the Duke of Bisceglie meant to kill him.

Cæsar was now twenty-seven years of age, in the flower of his health and strength; he felt himself master of Rome, and of the Pope himself, who had so great a fear of him, that he did not dare to utter a syllable the day on which his confidential servant, Pietro Caldes, or Pierotto, was murdered in his arms, and the man's blood spurted in his face. But Alexander was little disturbed by all this, and suffered no loss of rest.* "He is seventy years of age," wrote the ambassador Cappello; "he grows younger every day; his anxieties never last through a night; he has a cheerful nature and does whatever is most useful to him."

On the 28th September, as a means of obtaining money, he made twelve fresh cardinals at once, six of whom were Spaniards, thus gaining 120,000 ducats, which were at once given to Valentinois. With this money, the receipts of the jubilee, and the aid given by

* P. Cappello, the before quoted *Relazione*. Sanudo, on the contrary, quotes letters from Rome, dated 20th February 1498, in which it is related that Pierotto, the waiting man, was found drowned in the Tiber with a *faithful girl, a creature* of the Pope! "And the reason of this is not known. The following are Cappello's words in his *Relazione*: "And another time he (Valentinois) killed Messer Pierotto with his own hand, and under the Pope's own mantle, so that the blood splashed in the Pope's face." The letter of Silvio Savelli, quoted by Gregorovius (*Geschichte, etc.*, vol. vii. p. 447), says: "Pontificis cubicularius Perottus in ejus gremis trucidatus." Burchard says that he was drowned in the Tiber. Possibly he was thrown in already murdered.

the French in addition to his own forces under the Orsini, Savelli, Baglioni, and Vitelli, he made himself master of Pesaro, driving out (October 1500) his former brother-in-law, Giovanni Sforza; he next dispossessed Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini; and finally, laid siege to Faenza, whose lord, Astorre Manfredi, a boy of sixteen, was so much beloved by his people, that the town stood out valiantly, until at last driven by famine to capitulate on the 25th April 1501. It did not surrender until Cæsar Borgia had sworn to spare the townsfolk and save Manfredi's life; as usual, he broke his word, imprisoned Manfredi in the castle of St. Angelo; and after subjecting him to the most loathsome outrages, caused him to be strangled and thrown into the Tiber on the 9th June 1502.*

The Pope next gave Caesar the title of Duke of Romagna,—Imola, Faenza, Forlì, Rimini, Pesaro, and Fano were already included in his dominions, of which Bologna was to be the capital, and which was afterwards to be extended towards Sinigaglia and Urbino, in the hope of later annexing Tuscany as well. But for the present, France placed her veto upon any attempt against Bologna or Tuscany, which, on their

* At the time of his death, Manfredi was eighteen years of age. Nardi, always a temperate writer, speaks of this deed with the utmost horror. (*Storia di Firenze*: Firenze, 1842, vol. i., pp. 237-38.) Guicciardini and many others also mention it. Burchard's *Diario* tells us that in June the body of Astorre Manfredi was found in the Tiber with those of two youths, a woman, and several others. There is a notice of Manfredi's death in a despatch of 6th June 1502, from the Venetian ambassador, Antonio Giustinian. (*Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian*, published by P. Villari: Florence, successors Le Monnier, 1876, in 3 vols.)

side, were actively preparing for defence. Meanwhile, secret negotiations were going on between Spain and France, for the division of the kingdom of Naples between them, and the Pope entered into the arrangements, hoping, with his accustomed greed, to be able to extend his son's power in that direction likewise.

4. Savonarola and the Republic of Florence.

While these events were happening in Rome, the Borgia had planned another tragedy in Florence, where very grave changes had taken place, of which it is now needful to speak.*

From the time of Charles VIII.'s Italian expedition, a Dominican friar, prior of St Mark's convent, and a very remarkable man, had become almost master of the city. Everything indeed that was now done was dictated by the counsels he gave from the pulpit. A native of Ferrara, who came to Florence during the rule of the Medici, he had preached against the general depravity of manners, against the corruption of the Church, always attacking Pope Alexander more or less covertly, and proving himself to be the champion of liberty. In many respects, he neither was nor seemed to be a man of his time. Having no true classical culture, he detested the Pagan spirit with which all things were then impregnated. Learned in the Bible, the holy fathers, and

* See my *Storia di Girolamo Savonarola e dei suoi tempi*, in 2 vols. : Florence, F. Le Monnier, 1859-61. Having already treated this subject at length, I may be allowed to make but brief mention of it here.

scholastic philosophy, he was animated by the liveliest religious enthusiasm. Steeped in doctrines, at that time held in slight esteem, he wrote verses which, if not particularly well turned, at least were full of Christian ardour. Endowed with great independence of mind and character, and much good sense, yet he often spoke as one who was inspired, for he really believed himself a prophet, sent by God Almighty to reform the Church and redeem Italy. The mere fact of being so different from other men, and of not having the qualities and gifts then universal in men who lacked precisely those which he possessed, gave this friar a prodigious ascendency not only over the crowd, but even over the most cultured minds. Lorenzo dei Medici summoned him to his death-bed, beseeching for absolution from his sins; and this absolution Savonarola refused to grant to his country's tyrant. Angelo Poliziano, and Pico della Mirandola, both followers of that Pagan learning which Savonarola condemned, desired to be buried in St. Mark's church, shrouded in the Dominican habit. Many other literary men, and numerous artists, listened spell-bound to the friar's utterances.

Carried away by his imagination, and also by a singular presentiment, which often seemed to endow him with the gift of reading the future, not only did he predict the future evils of Italy in general terms, but he positively prophesied the coming of foreign armies, led by a new Cyrus. And this prophecy appeared to be miraculously fulfilled in 1494, by the descent of Charles VIII.; whereupon the friar became altogether the chief

man in Florence, all citizens relying upon him in the most critical moments. Thus with Piero Capponi, and others, he was sent as ambassador to the king, after Piero dei Medici had vilely yielded up everything; and the king, who had shown great roughness to all others, humbled himself before him who threatened him with the divine wrath. When, too, all the terms of the agreement had been signed in Florence, and the army lodged within the walls remained stationary to the great danger of the city, Savonarola was the only man who dared to present himself before the king, sternly bidding him depart. And his order was obeyed. Therefore it is not surprising if, when he set to work to form a new government, all men turned to the friar, and nothing was any longer done in Florence, save by the counsel of one, who had not only given signal proofs of disinterested love for the public welfare, but, fortunately, also of marvellous political common sense.

On the 2nd of December the bell of the Palazzo Vecchio rang out the summons to a general parliament, and the people hastened to its call in regular order, led by the Gonfaloniers of the different Companies. Twenty Accoppiatori were instantly elected for the nomination of Magistrates, and the arrangement of necessary proposals of reform. Thus, in a short time, the Republic was established upon a new basis, bringing to life old institutions, not, however, without considerably modifying them. The Gonfalonier, with the eight Priori forming the Signory, to be renewed every two months, were preserved; and so also the Magistracy of the Eight,

which, charged with the maintenance of order within the city, was a tribunal for common offences, and more especially for those against the State. The old Magistracy of the Ten for war affairs was likewise preserved. The Gonfaloniers of the Companies and the twelve Good Men, a remnant of old institutions composing the so-called Colleges that gave their assistance to the Signory, without having any real importance, were also maintained. But serious disputes arose regarding the Councils or assemblies of the Republic. The Council of Seventy, organ of the Medicean despotism, was promptly abolished; but it was found impossible to reconstitute those of the people and the Commune, because, under the old Republic, these answered to a state of things, to a division of the citizens which no longer existed, and which it was impossible to renew. Discussions therefore began. A few persons, at whose head was Paolo Antonio Soderini, just returned from Venice, positively proposed a Great Council, open to every citizen, and a less numerous council of *Ottimati*, precisely after the pattern of the Great Council, and of the *Pregadi* of Venice. But this proposal was combated by those who, headed by Guidantonio Vespucci, desired a more restricted form of government; they opposed the institution of the Great Council, which they said might be useful in Venice, where there was an aristocracy which alone composed it, but would be most dangerous to Florence, where, failing the aristocracy, it would be necessary to admit citizens of all ranks. Even, according to Guicciardini, the danger

of this great divergence of opinion consisted in this, that should a narrow form of government prevail instead of a moderately liberal one, there would ensue, as a necessary reaction, a government of too democratic a form, which would endanger the Republic. And it was for that reason that this great historian and acute politician took the part of Savonarola,* who, precisely at that time, took up the question and rescued everything, by preaching in favour of a *universal government*, with a Great Council on the Venetian plan, but adapted to Florentine needs and customs. The weight of his words speedily brought about the victory of Soderini's proposal, and the friar in consequence obtained so great an ascendancy over the people, that from that moment the discussions in the palace and the laws passed frequently seem to be mere copies of his sermons.

On the 22nd and 23rd December a decree was issued for the Consiglio Maggiore, to which all citizens were bidden who were twenty-nine years of age, and were *beneficiati*, that is to say, who enjoyed *the benefit of the State*, or, according to the old laws of the Republic, had the right to govern. Should these exceed the number of 1,500, then a third of them only, in alternation with the other thirds, would form a council from six months to six months.† The city had at that time about 90,000 inhabitants; the *beneficed (beneficiati)* citizens of the age of twenty-nine numbered 3,200; so that the Great Council

* As much in his *Storia Fiorentina* as in his treatise, *Del Reggimento di Firenze*, published in the *Opere Inedite*.

† All this is much more minutely detailed in my *Storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, to which I must again refer the reader.

was in fact composed of little more than a thousand members.* Also every three years sixty *non-beneficed* citizens and twenty-four young men aged twenty-four, were chosen to take part in the Council, "in order to give encouragement to the young and incite them to virtue." The chief function of the Council was the election of magistrates—in which the best guarantee of liberty then consisted—and in voting laws, though without discussing them. Besides this, it was to elect immediately eighty citizens of at least forty years of age, to form the Council of Eighty, a species of Senate to be renewed every six months, and of which the membership belonged of right to some of the principal magistrates. This sat once a week to deliberate, in conjunction with the Signory, on all grave and delicate questions which could not be communicated to the larger assembly. The *Collegi* joined these sittings whenever it was a question of nominating ambassadors and captains, or making arrangements with mercenary leaders.

It was in this manner that the new Republic was constituted. Division of power being then unknown, the attributes of the magistrates were considerably confused. Nevertheless, when a new law required sanction, the following was the usual mode of procedure: the proposal was made by the Signoria, who could—if the matter required it—first call together a so-called *Pratica*, com-

* According to the law, the minimum was fixed at 500, so that if the *beneficiati* amounted to fewer than 1,500, they were not divided into thirds, but formed the Council altogether. For this reason the Council Hall, then built by Cronaca in the palace of the Signoria, was named the Hall of the Five Hundred.

posed of the colleges, the principal magistrates and the *Arroti, i.e.* citizens selected for that special purpose. When this measure was considered unnecessary, application was made at once to the Eighty, and then to the Great Council without farther delay. In the Pratica some discussion of questions took place, but at the Councils members gave their votes without preliminary debate. The same course was pursued with regard to matters of weightier import than the passing of laws —declarations of war, for instance, or the conclusion of some treaty pregnant with the gravest results.

This novel machinery of government soon began to work regularly, and Savonarola, as one of its principal authors, powerfully promoted other important reforms by means of his preachings from the pulpit. The irregular and arbitrary taxes upon real property were replaced by tithes (Decima). Parliament was abolished, for that assembly, having always approved every measure proposed by the Signoria, had frequently been made the docile tool of tyranny and change. The Monte di Pietà was established. A new law was also passed, granting —in State trials—a right of appeal from the Eight to the Great Council; this was, it must be confessed, a highly imprudent act, inasmuch as it entrusted the administration of justice to popular feeling. Savonarola himself was in favour of a more restricted right of appeal, but on this point he was powerless to restrain the people, urged on as they were by his personal enemies. These latter hoped, by means of excesses, to put the Republic in danger, or at least—as they phrased it—to

deliver it from the hands of the Friar. After-events proved the inexpediency of the law.

Nevertheless at first public business was carried on with sufficient regularity, nor did other disturbances arise, save those brought about by the war with Pisa, which indeed, not having as yet assumed a very serious character, served to keep the Florentines from quarrelling among themselves. It is true that the allies summoned Maximilian, King of the Romans, to the aid of the Pisans; but when they beheld him arrive without an army, they would give him neither money nor men; so that he had to return the way he came, without having achieved anything. But Florence already held the seeds of a very grave danger, destined to be the cause of fatal results. With ever-increasing fervour, Savonarola was preaching reformation of manners, the defence of freedom; he suggested many useful measures, he painted the evils of tyranny in the liveliest colours. But he did not stop here.

He also urged the necessity of reforming the Church, which, as all men knew and saw, had lapsed into the most abject corruption. Dogma and even the principle of Papal authority he left untouched, for in fact he never ceased to be a Roman Catholic; but at last he pointed out the need of a Council, and made allusions to Pope Alexander's scandalous mode of life. Thereupon the Pope began to feel serious disquietude at a state of things so novel for Italy, so dangerous for himself, who, as Piero Capponi had previously described

him, was of a cowardly nature and *conscius criminis sui.** First of all he sent Savonarola a very graciously worded invitation to Rome, which the Friar declined to accept. On this the Pope interdicted him from preaching; but the Ten wrote so urgently in his defence, that —for fear of worse consequences—the brief was revoked. Once more the Pope resorted to flattery, and even the possibility of a Cardinal's hat was suggested; but again the Prior of San Marco refused, and during the Lent of 1496 thundered louder than ever from his pulpit. He predicted future calamities, recurred to the question of church reform, and insisted that Florence must firmly consolidate her popular government, in order to promote both at home and abroad the renovation and triumph of religion cleansed of all corruption.

The matter by that time had assumed such grave proportions, that, stirred by conflicting passions, the eyes of all Italy were turned upon the courageous Friar. All men were convinced of the frightful corruption of the church, and all understood that notwithstanding the universal and radical religious scepticism of the Italians things could not long go on as they were. The precursory symptoms of reform already manifest at Constance, at Basle, and elsewhere, were too significant to be forgotten. The enthusiastic, earnest attention with which flippant, sceptical Florence was now listening to Savonarola, inspired in many a confused alarm, and aroused the fierce rage of Alexander VI. He, who had

* *Vide* letters before quoted from Capponi to Piero di Medici, published by Desjardins, *Négotiations*, etc., vol. i., p. 393, and fol.

so easily dismissed prelates and cardinals from the world, now saw himself personally attacked by a simple friar, without having the power to punish him.

Still the Pope did not despair of turning aside the threatened danger. Savonarola, it is true, was a powerful if rough orator; he was a man of prodigious activity; he wrote an immense number of works, of pamphlets, of letters; he gave himself no rest; daily and several times a-day, he delivered sermons in different churches; his zeal for good was great, his religious enthusiasm most ardent, his power immense. Yet, as we have already remarked, he was not altogether a man of his day; his culture was in part scholastic, his enthusiasm frequently verged upon fanaticism; he beheld visions and believed himself a prophet; sometimes he imagined that the Almighty would make use of him to perform miracles. He was an ardent lover of liberty; but with the true monastic spirit, he yearned for it as a means of promoting religious reform. At times, indeed, he seemed determined to turn all Florence into a conventual establishment, which to many must have appeared an almost childish illusion. He was surrounded by artists and men of learning, over whom, as over both people and politicians, he exercised an extraordinary ascendancy. But while loving culture and encouraging the arts, he was a most bitter enemy of the pagan spirit that then impregnated and corrupted all things. Among his friars, as among his followers outside the convent, were men of lofty character and commanding energy; but there were also not a few weak and superstitious spirits,

to exaggerate the ideas of their master, who was not entirely free from exaggeration himself. The immense power which he had acquired in Florence through the wisdom of his political advice, the nobility of his mind, his irresistible eloquence, were more strengthened by the wonder awakened by the singularity of his character, than by his success in arousing in Florence a veritable religious fervour. And it was upon this point that Savonarola greatly deceived himself, and failed therefore to see that he was in fact building upon sand; he desired a free government to promote religious reform, and the Florentines accepted religious reform, only for the better consolidation of a free government. Hence the base of his power was less solid than it seemed, and the Pope could not fail to find ways to create new parties and foment strife.

A considerable number of young men, lovers of the gay living so much in favour under the Medici, and now held in such bitter reprobation, banded together under the name of the Compagnacci (Bad Fellows) for the purpose of ridiculing the Friar and his friends whom they styled Piagnoni (Snivellers), Frateschi, etc., and of combating them by every means in their power. So in 1497, it came about that while this party made an attempt to revive the old Medicean carnival with its bacchanalian revels and indecencies, on the other hand the exhortations of Savonarola and his followers inspired bands of children to scour the streets and houses of Florence in search of *vanities*, namely, books, writings, drawings, and sculpture of a licentious char-

acter; all carnival dresses and masks. The 7th of February and last day of carnival, was celebrated by a solemn procession, that terminated with the famous *burning of the vanities*, which were collected together in the Piazza of the Signoria, and heaped up on the stages of a great wooden pyramid constructed for the purpose. As was very natural, this affair gave rise to numerous accusations and much ridicule on the part of the Compagnacci, although this singular solemnity not only had the sanction of the chief authorities, but was almost directed by them, in order that it might be conducted with dignity and decorum. Indeed the Compagnacci loudly blamed the government for taking part in monkish shows. With this party sided the Arrabbiati, who desired a more restricted form of government, that is, one restricted to Ottimati and the Bigi (Greys), so called, because they did not venture to show their secret object, which was no less than the pure and simple restoration of the Medici.

As yet none of these intrigues endangered either the Republic or Savonarola. The Compagnacci were not a political party; the Ottimati had few followers in Florence, which had always been a democratic city; the Bigi, though with powerful adherents both at home and abroad, had in Piero dei Medici a leader at once too hated and despised, to be desired by many. The first attempt he made to re-enter Florence, where he expected a most favourable reception, ended in his having the city gate contemptuously closed in his face. A conspiracy for the same object got up by Bernardo

del Nero and others, ended in their death. All this, however, produced a state of things, in which it was easy for Alexander VI. to find an opportunity for the revenge, which he had so long and so ardently sought.

Savonarola daily hurled fresh bolts against Roman licence, daily he insisted more openly on the necessity of calling together a council, and daily made allusions from the pulpit to the crimes and vices of the Pope. Frequently ordered to be silent, he raised his voice louder and louder. Finally sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him, and this he declared to be null and void, adding that he spoke in the name of the Almighty, and was ready to maintain his own innocence against the whole world; that, however, he despaired of convincing Alexander VI., who, since he was elected simonaically, and stained with so many crimes and scandals, could not be considered as the true Pope. This was at the time of the murder of the Duke of Gandia, of the rumour of the Pope's incest with his daughter Lucrezia; and Savonarola was worked up to a frenzy which he neither would nor could moderate. He addressed letters to the powers of Europe, urging them to assemble a Council for the salvation of the Church, which, as he would publicly demonstrate, had no true and legitimate head. One of these letters unfortunately fell into the hands of Alexander VI. Still more unfortunately, Charles VIII., who seemed to have repented of his sins and decided to put his hand to the reforms urged by Savonarola, by whom he was regarded as his strongest support, died suddenly in the

early part of 1498. And although all this was not known in Italy, still it was already plain that all things were conspiring to the hurt of the poor friar. It was at this moment that an unexpected opportunity occurred which the Pope unhesitatingly seized.

The Signory then in office was hostile to Savonarola; continued encouragement from abroad had increased the audacity of the Arrabbiati and the Compagnacci, the Bigi were always ready for anything that brought harm to the Republic, some even of the Piagnoni were disturbed by the fierceness of the conflict with the Pope, when a singular occurrence took place, of which no one could foresee the tremendous results. Francesco di Puglia, a Franciscan monk, in the course of a furious sermon against Savonarola in the Church of Santa Croce, declared himself ready to go through the ordeal of fire with him and thereby prove the falsity of the Friar's doctrines.

To Savonarola the affair appeared both strange and unseemly, and he took no notice of it; but not so his disciple Brother Domenico Buonvicini of Pescia. This friar, a man of small wits, but earnest, energetic and possessed with a burning zeal, accepted the challenge and unhesitatingly declared his readiness to go through the trial by fire in order to prove the truth of his master's doctrines. Francesco di Puglia replied that he had challenged Savonarola, and with him alone would he enter the fire; Frà Domenico must be content to make the trial with Giuliano Rondinelli another Franciscan. The matter unfortunately went on notwithstanding

Savonarola's attempts to put a stop to it; Frà Domenico had fallen readily into the trap set for him, and Savonarola himself was not entirely disinclined to believe in the success of the experiment, convinced as he was of holding a mission from God and of being inspired by him to preach the doctrines which were now disputed. The Arrabbiati and the Compagnacci pushed the matter on with all their might, for they hoped to crush the Piagnoni by ridicule, and to accomplish the murder of Savonarola in the tumult for which they were making preparations. They were helped in this by the Signoria, now in secret agreement with Rome.

Accordingly this extraordinary experiment or ordeal —an evident anachronism in the fifteenth century— was fixed for the 7th of April 1498. At the hour arranged the monks came in procession to the Piazza in front of the Palace, where everything had been ordered by the Signoria, and where an immense crowd had gathered, impatient to witness a spectacle that recalled the Middle Ages. Savonarola, himself persuaded that Frà Domenico's fiery zeal, against which he had vainly combated, was a veritable inspiration from on high, had consented to lead his brethren. However, when all was ready on their side, and Frà Domenico of Pescia awaited the signal to enter the fire, the Franciscans, whose only object was to lay a trap for their adversaries, began to hesitate, and it was plain that Rondinelli had no wish to face the ordeal. They did everything in their power to excite the wished-for disturbance, but without success, for Frà Domenico stood boldly forward, eager for

the proof, and his attitude discomfited every adversary. But with their numberless objections and disputes the Franciscans contrived to waste the whole day, and at last a violent thunder-shower furnished the Signoria with an excuse for declaring that the ordeal should no longer take place.

According to all reason this should have completed the defeat of Savonarola's enemies; but instead it had the contrary effect. The crowd was weary and furious at the loss of the longed-for spectacle; and many gave the blame to Savonarola, saying that had he really been convinced of his divine mission, he would, without arguments, have entered the fire alone, and thus have silenced his adversaries for ever. His followers consisted chiefly either of devoted fanatics, or politicians who only regarded him as the champion of free government. The first regretted that the trial had not been made, the second deplored Savonarola's consent to it; thus there was universal discontent. In this way it became possible for the Arrabbiati and the Compagnacci, seconded by the Bigi and favoured by the Signoria, to excite the people against the Piagnoni, some of whom were killed or wounded in the streets, the others insulted on all sides. And now the reaction had set in. A furious mob attacked the convent of St. Mark, which in spite of the valiant resistance of some of the brethren, assisted by a small band of friends, was stormed and taken. Savonarola, his faithful companion Frà Domenico, and Frà Salvestro Maruffi, one of his most noted followers, but a mere visionary of the feeblest character, were carried to prison to await their trial.

The Pope would have paid any price to get the Friar into his hands, and made the most liberal offers; but the Signoria, although composed of Arrabbiati most ready to agree to his death, could not reconcile it with the dignity of the Republic that the trial should take place elsewhere. In Florence, however, it was carried on in obedience to the orders and instructions received from Rome, torture was repeatedly employed, and confessions extorted from the delirium of pain. While on the rack Savonarola could no longer command his nerves, and had not the strength to maintain that his doctrines and his works had been inspired by God, yet he steadfastly denied ever having been moved by any personal motives or of acting in bad faith; on the contrary, he maintained that all that he had done had been solely and wholly for the public good. To this we may add that although the weak, unstable Frà Silvestro gave way at once, denied his master, and said everything that his judges wished him to say, Frà Domenico on the contrary, unconquered either by threats or torture, remained nobly consistent, unshrinkingly proclaiming his steadfast faith in his beloved master. Recourse was accordingly had to the common and easy expedient of altering as much as possible the very confessions extorted in the torture chamber, without however being able even in this way to find reasonable grounds for condemnation.

Meanwhile the Pope was sending furious letters demanding either that the Friars should be sent to Rome where he would know how to deal with them, or that they should be put to death without further delay. In fact the

Signoria had neither will nor power to abandon its cruel purpose. As, however, two months had already passed, and it was time, according to the Florentine laws, for a new Signoria to come into office, the present one employed itself solely in providing that the new elections should be favourable to the Arrabbiati; this was easily contrived. And the freshly elected magistrates speedily agreed with the Pope, that he should send two Apostolic Commissioners to Florence to bring the trial to a satisfactory conclusion; finding grounds that is, for capital punishment, more especially as regarded the accusal of heresy. Savonarola in the meantime during this interval of quiet in his prison, had written several religious pamphlets, in which, while re-asserting all his doctrines he once more declared himself to be in all things, as he had ever been, a most faithful and unshaken believer in the Roman Catholic faith. But that mattered nothing; his death had been resolved upon.

On the 19th May the Apostolic Commissioners arrived with the order that *were he another St John the Baptist* he must be condemned to death. They began the mock trial again, torturing Savonarola even more cruelly than at first. And although, notwithstanding his bodily weakness, he now endured the agony better than before, and no good reason could be found for condemning him, yet without delay the Commissioners sentenced him and his companions to death, and handed them over to the secular arm, shewing no mercy even to Maruffi, who had vilely slandered and denied his master, making every admission that was suggested to

him. A friar more or less mattered little, they said. And certainly there would have been little prudence in sparing the life of so weak and shallow a man, who later might have revealed, even unwittingly, the shameless falsification of the trials. Accordingly, on the 23d May 1498, a great platform was erected in the piazza of the Signoria, with a cross at one end on which the three friars were hung; Savonarola in the middle, between the other two. The instant they had breathed their last, their corpses were burnt, and their ashes thrown into the Arno, in the presence of an applauding rabble of boys.

Throughout this drama there was a strange mixture of elements; of the really heroic with the merely ephemeral. The faith of Savonarola, his zeal for the general good, his self-abnegation, were simply heroic; mighty was his eloquence, wonderful his political wisdom; merely ephemeral, on the other hand, the religious ardour which he believed that he had aroused in the Florentine people. In point of fact they had only been stirred to a love of liberty, and had listened with enthusiasm to the religious teachings of the Friar as long as these continued to give strength to the popular government. But as soon as they beheld in him a source of danger to the Republic, they had little hesitation in giving him up to the Pope. And certainly, no sooner had the unhappy Friar ceased to breathe, than all the dangers which had from all sides recently threatened the government which he had founded, seemed suddenly to melt away. The allies spoke no more of re-instating Piero dei Medici; the Pope, in high good humour, sent praises

and held out hopes; Valentinois seemed to have given up all idea of invading Tuscany, and Florence hoped to be able to turn all her attention to the war against Pisa, without having to think of other matters.

It was not long before she saw the vanity of these hopes, and that much more was needed to satiate the unquenchable avidity of the Borgias. But there was no longer any remedy. She could only repent having stifled the one voice that was ever raised in defence of her liberty; of having unjustly, iniquitously destroyed a man who had done so much good, and would have done so much more to the cause of Florence, of liberty, of religion. To many his death rendered him a saint and a martyr, and for more than a century his memory was admired and worshipped by many in Florence, who during subsequent perils of their country, showed themselves worthy followers of their master, and shed the glow of their heroism over the last moments of the Republic. However, that was in the future; in the May of 1498 the Arrabiati were triumphant, although they did not dare to change the form of government planned by Savonarola. On the contrary, it was consolidated. Still the Piagnoni continued to be persecuted, and many of them were driven out of whatever offices they held to make room for their declared adversaries and new men. At this moment a personage appeared upon the scene, and obtained official employ, who was certainly greater than Savonarola, if of a very different order of greatness. To him we must now turn our undivided attention.

RECENT BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

Second Edition, crown 8vo, price 8s. 6d.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JAMES HINTON.

EDITED BY ELLICE HOPKINS.

With an Introduction by Sir W. W. GULL, Bart., and Portrait engraved on Steel by C. H. JEENS.

"Miss Hopkins has executed a difficult task with great tact. She shows a hearty appreciation of her subject, and her work is well done."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

2 Vols., square post 8vo, price 28s.

WILLIAM GODWIN: HIS FRIENDS AND CONTEMPORARIES.

BY C. KEGAN PAUL.

With Portraits and Facsimiles of the Handwriting of Godwin and his Wife.

"Mr Paul may securely count upon all the applause that attends upon first-rate literary work. He shines as the accomplished literary craftsman; clear-headed and clear-sighted, diligent, accurate, and compendious. Mr Paul's volumes are more interesting than any novel."—*Athenæum.*

Demy 8vo, price 14s.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL RECOLLECTIONS OF SIR JOHN BOWRING.

With Memoir by LEWIN B. BOWRING.

"There is much in this volume to interest the student of social and political history during the most eventful portion of the present century. . . . The book possesses even a romantic interest."—*Daily News.*

Demy 8vo, Price 16s.

SERVETUS AND CALVIN.

A Study of an Important Epoch in the Early History of the Reformation.

BY R. WILLIS, M.D.

"Dr Willis has collected in this monograph a good store of interesting matter, which is not accessible to most readers without considerable trouble, and has come so near making it a good book, that one would be glad, if it were possible, to escape the duty of criticism."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

Second Edition, crown 8vo, price 5s.

JOSEPH MAZZINI: A MEMOIR.

By E. A. V., with Two Photographic Portraits.

"A welcome record of an eventful life, an appropriate tribute to an extraordinary man."—*Edinburgh Review.*

2 Vols. large post 8vo, price 24s.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D.

WITH EXTRACTS FROM HIS NOTE-BOOKS.

Edited by Mrs ROWLAND WILLIAMS. With a Photographic Portrait.

"Full and instructive. Dr Williams' opinions on most subjects come out clearly. The widow has performed her part lovingly and with taste, presenting the departed husband in all his phases."—*Athenæum.*

LONDON: C. KEGAN PAUL & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

2 Vols. demy 8vo, cloth, price 24s.

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY.

BY JACOB BURCKHARDT.

AUTHORISED TRANSLATION BY S. G. C. MIDDLEMORE.

"The whole of the first part of Dr Burckhardt's work deals with what may be called the political preparation for the Renaissance. It is impossible here to do more than express a high opinion of the compact way in which the facts are put before the reader. . . . . His account of the causes which prevented the rise of a great Italian drama is very clear and satisfying; his moderate judgment of the morality of Italy, or, rather, his refusal to judge so complicated a matter at all, increases the reader's respect for his impartiality, and his knowledge of the limitations of history."—*Saturday Review.*

"Every one who has read this book in the original, and observed the growing interest in its subject of late years, must have wondered that it had not been translated long ago. It is an excellent historical essay upon the social and political causes of the Italian Renaissance, written with considerable literary skill and taste, with perfect sobriety of judgment, and founded on real erudition. . . . . Mr Middlemore's translation is careful, yet fresh and idiomatic; he has done justice to his author, and the book is as readable in its English dress as it was in the German."—*Academy.*

"His book is to be warmly recommended to all who would understand anything about Italy of the Renaissance. It is grievous that, with so much enthusiasm on the part of her countrymen for travel, there should be no book in English which would enable them to understand Italy in the time of its greatness. The translation of Dr Burckhardt's book has supplied this want, and no one ought to set out for a journey Italy without reading it. Mr Middlemore's translation is well and carefully done, and he has spent much labour in smoothing out involved sentences."—*Examiner.*

Will shortly be Published,

THE RENAISSANCE OF ART IN FRANCE.

BY MRS MARK PATTISON.

With Illustrations, 2 vols. demy 8vo.

LONDON: C. KEGAN PAUL & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

A LIST OF

C. KEGAN PAUL AND CO.'S

PUBLICATIONS.

A LIST OF C. KEGAN PAUL AND CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

ABBEY (Henry).
Ballads of Good Deeds, and Other Verses. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth gilt, price 5*s*.

ABDULLA (Hakayit).
Autobiography of a Malay Munshi. Translated by J. T. Thomson, F.R.G.S. With Photo-lithograph Page of Abdulla's MS. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s*.

ADAMS (A. L.), M.A., M.B., F.R.S., F.G.S.
Field and Forest Rambles of a Naturalist in New Brunswick. With Notes and Observations on the Natural History of Eastern Canada. Illustrated. 8vo. Cloth, price 14*s*.

ADAMS (F. O.), F.R.G.S.
The History of Japan. From the Earliest Period to the Present Time. New Edition, revised. 2 volumes. With Maps and Plans. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s*. each.

ADAMS (W. D.).
Lyrics of Love, from Shakespeare to Tennyson. Selected and arranged by. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth extra, gilt edges, price 3*s*. 6*d*.
Also, a Cheap Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

ADAMS (John), M.A.
St. Malo's Quest, and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, 5*s*.

ADON.
Through Storm & Sunshine. Illustrated by M. E. Edwards, A. T. H. Paterson, and the Author. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

A. J. R.
Told at Twilight; Stories in Verse, Songs, &c. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

A. K. H. B.
A Scotch Communion Sunday, to which are added Certain Discourses from a University City. By the Author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson." Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

ALBERT (Mary).
Holland and her Heroes to the year 1585. An Adaptation from "Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price, 4*s*. 6*d*.

ALLEN (Rev. R.), M.A.
Abraham; his Life, Times, and Travels, 3,800 years ago. Second Edition. With Map. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s*.

ALLEN (Grant), B.A.
Physiological Æsthetics. Large post 8vo. 9*s*.

AMOS (Prof. Sheldon).
Science of Law. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.
Volume X. of The International Scientific Series.

ANDERSON (Rev. C.), M.A.
New Readings of Old Parables. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

Church Thought and Church Work. Edited by. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

The Curate of Shyre. Second Edition. 8vo, Cloth, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

ANDERSON (Col. R. P.).
Victories and Defeats. An Attempt to explain the Causes which have led to them. An Officer's Manual. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 14*s*.

ANDERSON (R. C.), C.E.
Tables for Facilitating the Calculation of every Detail in connection with Earthen and Masonry Dams. Royal 8vo. Cloth, price £2 2s.

ANSON (Lieut.-Col. The Hon. A.), V.C., M.P.
The Abolition of Purchase and the Army Regulation Bill of 1871. Crown 8vo. Sewed, price 1s.
Army Reserves and Militia Reforms. Crown 8vo. Sewed, price 1s.
Story of the Supersessions. Crown 8vo. Sewed, price 6d.

ARCHER (Thomas).
About my Father's Business. Work amidst the Sick, the Sad, and the Sorrowing. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5s.

ARGYLE (Duke of).
Speeches on the Second Reading of the Church Patronage (Scotland) Bill in the House of Lords, June 2, 1874; and Earl of Camperdown's Amendment, June 9, 1874, placing the Election of Ministers in the hands of Ratepayers. Crown 8vo. Sewed, price 1s.
Army of the North German Confederation.
A Brief Description of its Organization, of the Different Branches of the Service and their *rôle* in War, of its Mode of Fighting, &c., &c. Translated from the Corrected Edition, by permission of the Author, by Colonel Edward Newdigate. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 5s.

AUBERTIN (J. J.).
Camoens' Lusiads. Portuguese Text, with Translation by. With Map and Portraits. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Price 30s.
Aunt Mary's Bran Pie.
By the author of "St. Olave's." Illustrated. Cloth, price 3s. 6d.
Aurora.
A Volume of Verse. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5s.

BAGEHOT (Walter).
Some Articles on the Depreciation of Silver, and Topics connected with it. Demy 8vo. Price 5s.

BAGEHOT (Walter)—*continued.*
Physics and Politics; or, Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of "Natural Selection" and "Inheritance" to Political Society. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4s.
Volume II. of The International Scientific Series.
The English Constitution.
A New Edition, Revised and Corrected, with an Introductory Dissertation on Recent Changes and Events. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7s. 6d.
Lombard Street. A Description of the Money Market. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7s. 6d.

BAGOT (Alan).
Accidents in Mines: their Causes and Prevention. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6s.

BAIN (Alexander), LL.D.
Mind and Body: the Theories of their relation. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4s.
Volume IV. of The International Scientific Series.

BAKER (Sir Sherston, Bart.).
Halleck's International Law; or Rules Regulating the Intercourse of States in Peace and War. A New Edition, revised, with Notes and Cases. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 38s.

BALDWIN (Capt. J. H.), F.Z.S.
The Large and Small Game of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces of India. 4to. With numerous Illustrations. Second Edition. Cloth, price 21s.

BANKS (Mrs. G. L.).
God's Providence House. New Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3s. 6d.

BARING (T. C.), M.A., M.P.
Pindar in English Rhyme.
Being an Attempt to render the Epinikian Odes with the principal remaining Fragments of Pindar into English Rhymed Verse. Small Quarto. Cloth, price 7s.

BARLEE (Ellen).
Locked Out: a Tale of the Strike. With a Frontispiece. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1s. 6d.

BARNES (William).

An Outline of English Speechcraft. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.*

BARTLEY (George C. T.).

Domestic Economy: Thrift in Every Day Life. Taught in Dialogues suitable for Children of all ages. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, limp, 2*s.*

BAUR (Ferdinand), Dr. Ph.

A Philological Introduction to Greek and Latin for Students. Translated and adapted from the German of. By C. KEGAN PAUL, M.A. Oxon., and the Rev. E. D. STONE, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Assistant Master at Eton. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

BAYNES (Rev. Canon R. H.)

At the Communion Time. A Manual for Holy Communion. With a preface by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

*** Can also be had bound in French morocco, price 2*s.* 6*d.*; Persian morocco, price 3*s.*; Calf, or Turkey morocco, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Home Songs for Quiet Hours. Fourth and cheaper Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

This may also be had handsomely bound in morocco with gilt edges.

BECKER (Bernard H.).

The Scientific Societies of London. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

BELLINGHAM (Henry), Barrister-at-Law.

Social Aspects of Catholicism and Protestantism in their Civil Bearing upon Nations. Translated and adapted from the French of M. le Baron de Haulleville. With a Preface by His Eminence Cardinal Manning. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

BENNETT (Dr. W. C.).

Narrative Poems & Ballads. Fcap. 8vo. Sewed in Coloured Wrapper, price 1*s.*

BENNETT (Dr. W. C.)—*continued.*

Songs for Sailors. Dedicated by Special Request to H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh. With Steel Portrait and Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

An Edition in Illustrated Paper Covers, price 1*s.*

Songs of a Song Writer. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

BENNIE (Rev. J. N.), M.A.

The Eternal Life. Sermons preached during the last twelve years. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

BERNARD (Bayle).

Samuel Lover, the Life and Unpublished Works of. In 2 vols. With a Steel Portrait. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

BERNSTEIN (Prof.).

The Five Senses of Man. With 91 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume XXI. of The International Scientific Series.

BETHAM-EDWARDS (Miss M.).

Kitty. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

BISCOE (A. C.).

The Earls of Middleton, Lords of Clermont and of Fettercairn, and the Middleton Family. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

BISSET (A.)

History of the Struggle for Parliamentary Government in England. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 24*s.*

BLASERNA (Prof. Pietro).

The Theory of Sound in its Relation to Music. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume XXII. of The International Scientific Series.

Blue Roses; or, Helen Malinofska's Marriage. By the Author of "Véra." 2 vols. Fifth Edition. Cloth, gilt tops, 12*s.*

*** Also a Cheaper Edition in 1 vol. With frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

BLUME (Major W.).

The Operations of the German Armies in France, from Sedan to the end of the war of 1870-71. With Map. From the Journals of the Head-quarters Staff. Translated by the late E. M. Jones, Maj. 20th Foot, Prof. of Mil. Hist., Sandhurst. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

BOGUSLAWSKI (Capt. A. von).

Tactical Deductions from the War of 1870-71. Translated by Colonel Sir Lumley Graham, Bart., late 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment. Third Edition, Revised and Corrected. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.*

BONWICK (J.), F.R.G.S.

Egyptian Belief and Modern Thought. Large post 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Pyramid Facts and Fancies. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

The Tasmanian Lily. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Mike Howe, the Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

BOSWELL (R. B.), M.A., Oxon.

Metrical Translations from the Greek and Latin Poets, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

BOWEN (H. C.), M. A.

Studies in English, for the use of Modern Schools. Small Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

BOWRING (L.), C.S.I.

Eastern Experiences. Illustrated with Maps and Diagrams. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 16*s.*

BOWRING (Sir John).

Autobiographical Recollections. With Memoir by Lewin B. Bowring. Demy 8vo. Price 14*s.*

BRADLEY (F. H.).

Ethical Studies. Critical Essays in Moral Philosophy. Large post 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

BRADLEY (F. H.)—*continued.*

Mr. Sidgwick's Hedonism: an Examination of the Main Argument of "The Methods of Ethics." Demy 8vo., sewed, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

Brave Men's Footsteps.

By the Editor of "Men who have Risen." A Book of Example and Anecdote for Young People. With Four Illustrations by C. Doyle. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

BRIALMONT (Col. A.).

Hasty Intrenchments. Translated by Lieut. Charles A. Empson, R. A. With Nine Plates. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

BROOKE (Rev. J. M. S.), M. A.

Heart, be Still. A Sermon preached in Holy Trinity Church, Southall. Imperial 32mo. Sewed, price 6*d.*

BROOKE (Rev. S. A.), M.A.

The Late Rev. F. W. Robertson, M.A., Life and Letters of. Edited by.

I. Uniform with the Sermons. 2 vols. With Steel Portrait. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

II. Library Edition. 8vo. With Two Steel Portraits. Price 12*s.*

III. A Popular Edition, in 1 vol. 8vo. Price 6*s.*

Theology in the English Poets. — COWPER, COLERIDGE, WORDSWORTH, and BURNS. Third Edition. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

Christ in Modern Life. Eleventh Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Sermons. First Series. Ninth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Sermons. Second Series. Third Edition Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.*

The Fight of Faith. Sermons preached on various occasions. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Frederick Denison Maurice: The Life and Work of. A Memorial Sermon. Crown 8vo. Sewed, price 1*s.*

BROOKE (W. G.), M.A.

The Public Worship Regulation Act. With a Classified Statement of its Provisions, Notes, and Index. Third Edition, revised and corrected. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Six Privy Council Judgments—1850-1872. Annotated by. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

BROUN (J. A.).

Magnetic Observations at Trevandrum and Augustia Malley. Vol. I. 4to. Cloth, price 63*s.*

The Report from above, separately sewed, price 21*s.*

BROWN (Rev. J. Baldwin), B.A.

The Higher Life. Its Reality, Experience, and Destiny. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Doctrine of Annihilation in the Light of the Gospel of Love. Five Discourses. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

BROWN (J. Croumbie), LL.D.

Reboisement in France; or, Records of the Replanting of the Alps, the Cevennes, and the Pyrenees with Trees, Herbage, and Bush. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Hydrology of Southern Africa. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

BRYANT (W. C.)

Poems. Red-line Edition. With 24 Illustrations and Portrait of the Author. Crown 8vo. Cloth extra, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

A Cheaper Edition, with Frontispiece. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

BUCHANAN (Robert).

Poetical Works. Collected Edition, in 3 vols., with Portrait. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.* each.

Master-Spirits. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

BULKELEY (Rev. H. J.).

Walled in, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

BURCKHARDT (Jacob).

The Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy. Authorized translation, by S. G. C. Middlemore. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 24*s.*

BURTON (Mrs. Richard).

The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine, and the Holy Land. With Maps, Photographs, and Coloured Plates. 2 vols. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 24*s.*

BURTON (Capt. Richard F.).

The Gold Mines of Midian and the Ruined Midianite Cities. A Fortnight's Tour in North Western Arabia. With numerous Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 18*s.*

CALDERON.

Calderon's Dramas: The Wonder-Working Magician—Life is a Dream—The Purgatory of St. Patrick. Translated by Denis Florence MacCarthy. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.*

CARLISLE (A. D.), B. A.

Round the World in 1870. A Volume of Travels, with Maps. New and Cheaper Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

CARNE (Miss E. T.).

The Realm of Truth. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.* 6*d.*

CARPENTER (E.).

Narcissus and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

CARPENTER (W. B.), LL.D., M.D., F.R.S., &c.

The Principles of Mental Physiology. With their Applications to the Training and Discipline of the Mind, and the Study of its Morbid Conditions. Illustrated. Fourth Edition. 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

CAVALRY OFFICER.

Notes on Cavalry Tactics, Organization, &c. With Diagrams. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

CHAPMAN (Hon. Mrs. E. W.).

A Constant Heart. A Story. 2 vols. Cloth, gilt tops, price 12*s.*

Children's Toys, and some Elementary Lessons in General Knowledge which they teach. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

CHRISTOPHERSON (The late Rev. Henry), M.A.

Sermons. With an Introduction by John Rae, LL.D., F.S.A. Second Series. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

CLERK (Mrs. Godfrey).

'Ilâm en Nâs. Historical Tales and Anecdotes of the Times of the Early Khalifahs. Translated from the Arabic Originals. Illustrated with Historical and Explanatory Notes. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.*

CLERY (C.), Capt.

Minor Tactics. With 26 Maps and Plans. Third and revised Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 16*s.*

CLODD (Edward), F.R.A.S.

The Childhood of the World: a Simple Account of Man in Early Times. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.*

A Special Edition for Schools. Price 1*s.*

The Childhood of Religions. Including a Simple Account of the Birth and Growth of Myths and Legends. Third Thousand. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

A Special Edition for Schools. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

COLERIDGE (Sara).

Pretty Lessons in Verse for Good Children, with some Lessons in Latin, in Easy Rhyme. A New Edition. Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Phantasmion. A Fairy Tale. With an Introductory Preface by the Right Hon. Lord Coleridge, of Ottery St. Mary. A New Edition. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

COLERIDGE (Sara)—*continued.*

Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge. Edited by her Daughter. With Index. 2 vols. With Two Portraits. Third Edition, Revised and Corrected. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 24*s.*

Cheap Edition. With one Portrait. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

COLLINS (Mortimer).

Inn of Strange Meetings, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

COLLINS (Rev. R.), M.A.

Missionary Enterprise in the East. With special reference to the Syrian Christians of Malabar, and the results of modern Missions. With Four Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

CONGREVE (Richard), M.A., M.R.C.P.L.

Human Catholicism. Two Sermons delivered at the Positivist School on the Festival of Humanity, 87 and 88, January 1, 1875 and 1876. Demy 8vo. Sewed, price 1*s.*

Religion of Humanity; the Annual Address delivered at the Positivist School, 19, Chapel-street, Lamb's Conduit-street, W.C., on the Festival of Humanity, January 1, 1878.

COOKE (M. C.), M.A., LL.D.

Fungi; their Nature, Influences, Uses, &c. Edited by the Rev. M. J. Berkeley, M.A., F.L.S. With Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume XIV. of The International Scientific Series.

COOKE (Prof. J. P.)

The New Chemistry. With 31 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume IX. of The International Scientific Series.

Scientific Culture. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 1*s.*

COOPER (T. T.), F.R.G.S.

The Mishmee Hills: an Account of a Journey made in an Attempt to Penetrate Thibet from Assam, to open New Routes for Commerce. Second Edition. With Four Illustrations and Map. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Cornhill Library of Fiction (The). Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.* per volume.

Half-a-Dozen Daughters. By J. Masterman.

The House of Raby. By Mrs. G. Hooper.

A Fight for Life. By Moy Thomas.

Robin Gray. By Charles Gibbon.

One of Two; or, A Left-Handed Bride. By J. Hain Friswell.

God's Providence House. By Mrs. G. L. Banks.

For Lack of Gold. By Charles Gibbon.

Abel Drake's Wife. By John Saunders.

Hirell. By John Saunders.

CORY (Lieut. Col. Arthur).

The Eastern Menace; or, Shadows of Coming Events. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Ione. A Poem in Four Parts. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Cosmos. A Poem. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

COX (Rev. Sir G. W.), Bart.

A History of Greece from the Earliest Period to the end of the Persian War. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 36*s.*

The Mythology of the Aryan Nations. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 28*s.*

A General History of Greece from the Earliest Period to the Death of Alexander the Great, with a sketch of the subsequent History to the present time. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Tales of Ancient Greece. Third Edition. Small Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

School History of Greece. With Maps. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Great Persian War from the Histories of Herodotus. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price, 3*s.* 6*d.*

A Manual of Mythology in the form of Question and Answer. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.*

COX (Rev. Samuel).

Salvator Mundi; or, Is Christ the Saviour of all Men? Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*

CRESSWELL (Mrs. G.).

The King's Banner. Drama in Four Acts. Five Illustrations. 4to. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

CROMPTON (Henry).

Industrial Conciliation. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

CUMMINS (H. I.), M. A.

Parochial Charities of the City of London. Sewed, price 1*s.*

CURWEN (Henry).

Sorrow and Song: Studies of Literary Struggle. Henry Mürger—Novalis—Alexander Petöfi—Honoré de Balzac—Edgar Allan Poe—André Chénier. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 15*s.*

DANCE (Rev. C. D.).

Recollections of Four Years in Venezuela. With Three Illustrations and a Map. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

D'ANVERS (N. R.).

The Suez Canal: Letters and Documents descriptive of its Rise and Progress in 1854-56. By Ferdinand de Lesseps. Translated by. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Little Minnie's Troubles. An Every-day Chronicle. With Four Illustrations by W. H. Hughes. Fcap. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Pixie's Adventures; or, the Tale of a Terrier. With 21 Illustrations. 16mo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

DAVIDSON (Rev. Samuel), D.D., LL.D.

The New Testament, translated from the Latest Greek Text of Tischendorf. A new and thoroughly revised Edition. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Canon of the Bible: Its Formation, History, and Fluctuations. Second Edition. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

DAVIES (G. Christopher).

Mountain, Meadow, and Mere: a Series of Outdoor Sketches of Sport, Scenery, Adventures, and Natural History. With Sixteen Illustrations by Bosworth W. Harcourt. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Rambles and Adventures of Our School Field Club. With Four Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

DAVIES (Rev. J. L.), M.A.

Theology and Morality. Essays on Questions of Belief and Practice. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

DAWSON (George), M.A.

Prayers, with a Discourse on Prayer. Edited by his Wife. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. Price 6*s.*

Sermons on Disputed Points and Special Occasions. Edited by his Wife. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Sermons on Daily Life and Duty. Edited by his Wife. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

DE L'HOSTE (Col. E. P.).

The Desert Pastor, Jean Jarousseau. Translated from the French of Eugène Pelletan. With a Frontispiece. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

DE REDCLIFFE (Viscount Stratford), P.C., K.G., G.C.B.

Why am I a Christian? Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.*

DE TOCQUEVILLE (A.).

Correspondence and Conversations of, with Nassau William Senior, from 1834 to 1859. Edited by M. C. M. Simpson. 2 vols. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

DE VERE (Aubrey).

Alexander the Great. A Dramatic Poem. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

The Infant Bridal, and Other Poems. A New and Enlarged Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

DE VERE (Aubrey).—*continued.*

The Legends of St. Patrick, and Other Poems. Small crown 8vo Cloth, price 5*s.*

St. Thomas of Canterbury. A Dramatic Poem. Large fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Antar and Zara: an Eastern Romance. INISFAIL, and other Poems, Meditative and Lyrical. Fcap. 8vo. Price 6*s.*

The Fall of Rora, the Search after Proserpine, and other Poems, Meditative and Lyrical. Fcap. 8vo. Price 6*s.*

DENNIS (J.).

English Sonnets. Collected and Arranged. Elegantly bound. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

DOBSON (Austin).

Vignettes in Rhyme and Vers de Société. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Proverbs in Porcelain. By the Author of "Vignettes in Rhyme" Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

DOWDEN (Edward), LL.D.

Shakspere: a Critical Study of his Mind and Art. Third Edition. Large Post 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

Studies in Literature, 1789-1877. Large Post 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

Poems. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

DOWNTON (Rev. H.), M.A.

Hymns and Verses. Original and Translated. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

DRAPER (J. W.), M.D., LL.D.

History of the Conflict between Religion and Science. Eleventh Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume XIII. of The International Scientific Series.

DREW (Rev. G. S.), M.A.

Scripture Lands in connection with their History. Second Edition. 8vo. Cloth, price *10s. 6d.*

Nazareth: Its Life and Lessons. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *5s.*

The Divine Kingdom on Earth as it is in Heaven. 8vo. Cloth, price *10s. 6d.*

The Son of Man: His Life and Ministry. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *7s. 6d.*

DREWRY (G. O.), M.D.

The Common-Sense Management of the Stomach. Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *2s. 6d.*

DREWRY (G. O.), M.D., and BARTLETT (H. C.), Ph.D., F.C.S.

Cup and Platter: or, Notes on Food and its Effects. Small 8vo. Cloth, price *2s. 6d.*

DRUMMOND (Miss).

Tripps Buildings. A Study from Life, with Frontispiece. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price *3s. 6d.*

DURAND (Lady).

Imitations from the German of Spitta and Terstegen. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *4s.*

DU VERNOIS (Col. von Verdy).

Studies in leading Troops. An authorized and accurate Translation by Lieutenant H. J. T. Hildyard, 71st Foot. Parts I. and II. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price *7s.*

EDEN (Frederick).

The Nile without a Dragoman. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *7s. 6d.*

EDMONDS (Herbert).

Well Spent Lives: a Series of Modern Biographies. Crown 8vo. Price *5s.*

EDWARDS (Rev. Basil).

Minor Chords; Or, Songs for the Suffering: a Volume of Verse. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *3s. 6d.*; paper, price *2s. 6d.*

ELLIOT (Lady Charlotte).

Medusa and other Poems. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *6s.*

ELLIOTT (Ebenezer), The Corn Law Rhymer.

Poems. Edited by his son, the Rev. Edwin Elliott, of St. John's, Antigua. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *18s.*

ELSDALE (Henry).

Studies in Tennyson's Idylls. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *5s.*

ENGLISH CLERGYMAN.

An Essay on the Rule of Faith and Creed of Athanasius. Shall the Rubric preceding the Creed be removed from the Prayer-book? Sewed. 8vo. Price *1s.*

Epic of Hades (The).

By a New Writer. Author of "Songs of Two Worlds." Fourth and finally revised Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *7s. 6d.*

Eros Agonistes.

Poems. By E. B. D. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *3s. 6d.*

Essays on the Endowment of Research.

By Various Writers.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.

Mark Pattison, B. D.
James S. Cotton, B. A.
Charles E. Appleton, D. C. L.
Archibald H. Sayce, M. A.
Henry Clifton Sorby, F. R. S.
Thomas K. Cheyne, M. A.
W. T. Thiselton Dyer, M. A.
Henry Nettleship, M. A.

Square crown octavo. Cloth, price *10s. 6d.*

EVANS (Mark).

The Gospel of Home Life. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *4s. 6d.*

The Story of our Father's Love, told to Children; being a New and Enlarged Edition of Theology for Children. With Four Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *3s. 6d.*

A Book of Common Prayer and Worship for Household Use, compiled exclusively from the Holy Scriptures. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *2s. 6d.*

EX-CIVILIAN.
Life in the Mofussil: or, Civilian Life in Lower Bengal. 2 vols. Large post 8vo. Price 14*s.*

EYRE (Maj.-Gen. Sir V.), C.B., K.C.S.I., &c.
Lays of a Knight-Errant in many Lands. Square crown 8vo. With Six Illustrations. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

FARQUHARSON (M.).
I. Elsie Dinsmore. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*
II. Elsie's Girlhood. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*
III. Elsie's Holidays at Roselands. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

FERRIS (Henry Weybridge).
Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Folkestone Ritual Case (The). The Argument, Proceedings Judgment, and Report, revised by the several Counsel engaged. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 25*s.*

FOOTMAN (Rev. H.), M.A.
From Home and Back; or, Some Aspects of Sin as seen in the Light of the Parable of the Prodigal. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

FOWLE (Rev. Edmund).
Latin Primer Rules made Easy. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.*

FOWLE (Rev. T. W.), M.A.
The Reconciliation of Religion and Science. Being Essays on Immortality, Inspiration, Miracles, and the Being of Christ. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

FOX-BOURNE (H. R.).
The Life of John Locke, 1632—1704. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 28*s.*

FRASER (Donald).
Exchange Tables of Sterling and Indian Rupee Currency, upon a new and extended system, embracing Values from One Farthing to One Hundred Thousand Pounds, and at Rates progressing, in Sixteenths of a Penny, from 1*s.* 9*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* per Rupee. Royal 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

FRISWELL (J. Hain).
The Better Self. Essays for Home Life. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*
One of Two; or, A Left-Handed Bride. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

FYTCHE (Lieut.-Gen. Albert), C.S.I., late Chief Commissioner of British Burma.
Burma Past and Present, with Personal Reminiscences of the Country. With Steel Portraits, Chromolithographs, Engravings on Wood, and Map. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 30*s.*

GAMBIER (Capt. J. W.), R.N.
Servia. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

GARDNER (H.).
Sunflowers. A Book of Verses. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

GARDNER (J.), M.D.
Longevity: The Means of Prolonging Life after Middle Age. Fourth Edition, revised and enlarged. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.*

GARRETT (E.).
By Still Waters. A Story for Quiet Hours. With Seven Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

G. H. T.
Verses, mostly written in India. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

GIBBON (Charles).
For Lack of Gold. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Illustrated Boards, price 2*s.*
Robin Gray. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Illustrated boards, price 2*s.*

GILBERT (Mrs.).
Autobiography and other Memorials. Edited by Josiah Gilbert. Third Edition. With Portrait and several Wood Engravings. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

GILL (Rev. W. W.), B.A.

Myths and Songs from the South Pacific. With a Preface by F. Max Müller, M.A., Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

GODKIN (James).

The Religious History of Ireland: Primitive, Papal, and Protestant. Including the Evangelical Missions, Catholic Agitations, and Church Progress of the last half Century. 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

GOETZE (Capt. A. von).

Operations of the German Engineers during the War of 1870-1871. Published by Authority, and in accordance with Official Documents. Translated from the German by Colonel G. Graham, V.C., C.B., R.E. With 6 large Maps. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

GODWIN (William).

William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries. With Portraits and Facsimiles of the handwriting of Godwin and his Wife. By C. Kegan Paul. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 28*s.*

The Genius of Christianity Unveiled. Being Essays never before published. Edited, with a Preface, by C. Kegan Paul. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

GOLDIE (Lieut. M. H. G.)

Hebe: a Tale. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

GOODENOUGH (Commodore J. G.), R.N., C.B., C.M.G.

Memoir of, with Extracts from his Letters and Journals. Edited by his Widow. With Steel Engraved Portrait. Square 8vo. Cloth, 5*s.*

*** Also a Library Edition with Maps, Woodcuts, and Steel Engraved Portrait. Square post 8vo Cloth, price 14*s.*

GOODMAN (W.).

Cuba, the Pearl of the Antilles. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

GOULD (Rev. S. Baring), M.A.

The Vicar of Morwenstow: a Memoir of the Rev. R. S. Hawker. With Portrait. Third Edition, revised. Square post 8vo. Cloth, 10*s.* 6*d.*

GRANVILLE (A. B.), M.D., F.R.S., &c.

Autobiography of A. B. Granville, F.R.S., etc. Edited, with a brief account of the concluding years of his life, by his youngest Daughter, Paulina B. Granville. 2 vols. With a Portrait. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 32*s.*

GREY (John), of Dilston.

John Grey (of Dilston): Memoirs. By Josephine E. Butler. New and Revised Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

GRIFFITH (Rev. T.), A.M.

Studies of the Divine Master. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

GRIFFITHS (Capt. Arthur).

Memorials of Millbank, and Chapters in Prison History. With Illustrations by R. Goff and the Author. 2 vols. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

GRIMLEY (Rev. H. N.), M.A., Professor of Mathematics in the University College of Wales.

Tremadoc Sermons, chiefly on the SPIRITUAL BODY, the UNSEEN WORLD, and the DIVINE HUMANITY. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

GRÜNER (M. L.).

Studies of Blast Furnace Phenomena. Translated by L. D. B. Gordon, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

GURNEY (Rev. Archer).

Words of Faith and Cheer. A Mission of Instruction and Suggestion. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

First Principles in Church and State. Demy 8vo. Sewed, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

HAECKEL (Prof. Ernst).

The History of Creation. Translation revised by Professor E. Ray Lankester, M.A., F.R.S. With Coloured Plates and Genealogical Trees of the various groups of both plants and animals. 2 vols. Second Edition. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 32*s.*

The History of the Evolution of Man. With numerous Illustrations. 2 vols. Post 8vo.

HAKE (A. Egmont).

Paris Originals, with twenty etchings, by Léon Richeton. Large post 8vo. Cloth, price 14*s.*

Halleck's International Law or Rules. Regulating the Intercourse of States in Peace and War. A New Edition, revised, with Notes and Cases. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 38*s.*

HARCOURT (Capt. A. F. P.).

The Shakespeare Argosy. Containing much of the wealth of Shakespeare's Wisdom and Wit, alphabetically arranged and classified. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

HARDY (Thomas).

A Pair of Blue Eyes. New Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

HARRISON (Lieut.-Col. R.).

The Officer's Memorandum Book for Peace and War. Second Edition. Oblong 32mo. roan, elastic band and pencil, price 3*s.* 6*d.*; russia, 5*s.*

HAWEIS (Rev. H. R.), M.A.

Current Coin. Materialism—The Devil—Crime—Drunkenness—Pauperism—Emotion—Recreation—The Sabbath. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Speech in Season. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

Thoughts for the Times. Tenth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

HAWEIS (Rev. H. R.)—*continued.*

Unsectarian Family Prayers, for Morning and Evening for a Week, with short selected passages from the Bible. Second Edition. Square crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HAYMAN (H.), D.D., late Head Master of Rugby School.

Rugby School Sermons. With an Introductory Essay on the Indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

HELLWALD (Baron F. von).

The Russians in Central Asia. A Critical Examination, down to the present time, of the Geography and History of Central Asia. Translated by Lieut.-Col. Theodore Wirgman, LL.B. Large post 8vo. With Map. Cloth, price 12*s.*

HELVIG (Major H.).

The Operations of the Bavarian Army Corps. Translated by Captain G. S. Schwabe. With Five large Maps. In 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 24*s.*

Tactical Examples: Vol. I. The Battalion, price 15*s.* Vol. II. The Regiment and Brigade, price 10*s.* 6*d.* Translated from the German by Col. Sir Lumley Graham. With numerous Diagrams. Demy 8vo. Cloth.

HERFORD (Brooke).

The Story of Religion in England. A Book for Young Folk. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HEWLETT (Henry G.).

A Sheaf of Verse. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HINTON (James).

Life and Letters of. Edited by Ellice Hopkins, with an Introduction by Sir W. W. Gull, Bart., and Portrait engraved on Steel by C. H. Jeens. Crown 8vo. Cloth, 8*s.* 6*d.*

The Place of the Physician. To which is added ESSAYS ON THE LAW OF HUMAN LIFE, AND ON THE RELATION BETWEEN ORGANIC AND INORGANIC WORLDS. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HINTON (James).—*continued.*

Physiology for Practical Use. By various Writers. With 50 Illustrations. 2 vols. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

An Atlas of Diseases of the Membrana Tympani. With Descriptive Text. Post 8vo. Price £6 6*s.*

The Questions of Aural Surgery. With Illustrations. 2 vols. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

H. J. C.

The Art of Furnishing. A Popular Treatise on the Principles of Furnishing, based on the Laws of Common Sense, Requirement, and Picturesque Effect. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HOCKLEY (W. B.).

Tales of the Zenana; or, A Nuwab's Leisure Hours. By the Author of "Pandurang Hari." With a Preface by Lord Stanley of Alderley. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

Pandurang Hari; or, Memoirs of a Hindoo. A Tale of Mahratta Life sixty years ago. With a Preface by Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, G.C.S.I., &c. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

HOFFBAUER (Capt.).

The German Artillery in the Battles near Metz. Based on the official reports of the German Artillery. Translated by Capt. E. O. Hollist. With Map and Plans. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

HOLMES (E. G. A.).

Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HOLROYD (Major W. R. M.).

Tas-hil ul Kālām; or, Hindustani made Easy. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HOOPER (Mary).

Little Dinners: How to Serve them with Elegance and Economy. Thirteenth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HOOPER (Mary).—*continued.*

Cookery for Invalids, Persons of Delicate Digestion, and Children. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Every-Day Meals. Being Economical and Wholesome Recipes for Breakfast, Luncheon, and Supper. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HOOPER (Mrs. G.).

The House of Raby. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HOPKINS (Ellice).

Life and Letters of James Hinton, with an Introduction by Sir W. W. Gull, Bart., and Portrait engraved on Steel by C. H. Jeens. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 8*s.* 6*d.*

HOPKINS (M.).

The Port of Refuge; or, Counsel and Aid to Shipmasters in Difficulty, Doubt, or Distress. Crown 8vo. Second and Revised Edition. Cloth, price 6*s.*

HORNE (William), M.A.

Reason and Revelation: an Examination into the Nature and Contents of Scripture Revelation, as compared with other Forms of Truth. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

HORNER (The Misses).

Walks in Florence. A New and thoroughly Revised Edition. 2 vols. crown 8vo. Cloth limp. With Illustrations.

Vol. I.—Churches, Streets, and Palaces. 10*s.* 6*d.* Vol. II.—Public Galleries and Museums. 5*s.*

HOWARD (Mary M.).

Beatrice Aylmer, and other Tales. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

HOWARD (Rev. G. B.).

An Old Legend of St. Paul's. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

HOWELL (James).

A Tale of the Sea, Sonnets, and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HUGHES (Allison).

Penelope and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

HULL (Edmund C. P.).

The European in India. With a Medical Guide for Anglo-Indians. By R. R. S. Mair, M.D., F.R.C.S.E. Third Edition, Revised and Corrected. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s*.

HUMPHREY (Rev. W.).

Mr. Fitzjames Stephen and Cardinal Bellarmine. Demy 8vo. Sewed, price 1*s*.

IGNOTUS.

Culmshire Folk. A Novel. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s*.

INCHBOLD (J. W.).

Annus Amoris. Sonnets. Foolscap 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

INGELOW (Jean).

The Little Wonder-horn. A Second Series of "Stories Told to a Child." With Fifteen Illustrations. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

Indian Bishoprics. By an Indian Churchman. Demy 8vo. 6*d*.

International Scientific Series (The).

I. **The Forms of Water in Clouds and Rivers, Ice and Glaciers.** By J. Tyndall, LL.D., F.R.S. With 25 Illustrations. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

II. **Physics and Politics**; or, Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of "Natural Selection" and "Inheritance" to Political Society. By Walter Bagehot. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s*.

III. **Foods.** By Edward Smith, M.D., LL.B., F.R.S. With numerous Illustrations. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

IV. **Mind and Body: The Theories of their Relation.** By Alexander Bain, LL.D. With Four Illustrations. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s*.

V. **The Study of Sociology.** By Herbert Spencer. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

International Scientific Series (The)—*continued.*

VI. **On the Conservation of Energy.** By Balfour Stewart, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. With 14 Illustrations. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

VII. **Animal Locomotion**; or, Walking, Swimming, and Flying. By J. B. Pettigrew, M.D., F.R.S., etc. With 130 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

VIII. **Responsibility in Mental Disease.** By Henry Maudsley, M.D. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

IX. **The New Chemistry.** By Professor J. P. Cooke, of the Harvard University. With 31 Illustrations. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

X. **The Science of Law.** By Professor Sheldon Amos. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

XI. **Animal Mechanism.** A Treatise on Terrestrial and Aerial Locomotion. By Professor E. J. Marey. With 117 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

XII. **The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism.** By Professor Oscar Schmidt (Strasburg University). With 26 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

XIII. **The History of the Conflict between Religion and Science.** By J. W. Draper, M.D., LL.D. Eleventh Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

XIV. **Fungi**; their Nature, Influences, Uses, &c. By M. C. Cooke, M.A., LL.D. Edited by the Rev. M. J. Berkeley, M.A., F.L.S. With numerous Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

XV. **The Chemical Effects of Light and Photography.** By Dr. Hermann Vogel (Polytechnic Academy of Berlin). With 100 Illustrations. Third and Revised Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

International Scientific Series (The)—*continued.*

XVI. The Life and Growth of Language. By William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College, New Haven. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price

XVII. Money and the Mechanism of Exchange. By W. Stanley Jevons, M.A., F.R.S. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

XVIII. The Nature of Light: With a General Account of Physical Optics. By Dr. Eugene Lommel, Professor of Physics in the University of Erlangen. With 188 Illustrations and a table of Spectra in Chromo-lithography. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

XIX. Animal Parasites and Messmates. By Monsieur Van Beneden, Professor of the University of Louvain, Correspondent of the Institute of France. With 83 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

XX. Fermentation. By Professor Schützenberger, Director of the Chemical Laboratory at the Sorbonne. With 28 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

XXI. The Five Senses of Man. By Professor Bernstein, of the University of Halle. With 91 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

XXII. The Theory of Sound in its Relation to Music. By Professor Pietro Blaserna, of the Royal University of Rome. With numerous Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

XXIII. Studies in Spectrum Analysis. By J. Norman Lockyer. F.R.S. With six photographic Illustrations of Spectra, and numerous engravings on wood. Crown 8vo. Second Edition. Cloth, price 6*s.* 6*d.*

Forthcoming Volumes.

Prof. W. KINGDON CLIFFORD, M.A. The First Principles of the Exact Sciences explained to the Non-mathematical.

International Scientific Series (The).

Forthcoming Vols.—continued.

W. B. CARPENTER, LL.D., F.R.S. The Physical Geography of the Sea.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., F.R.S. On Ants and Bees.

Prof. W. T. THISELTON DYER, B.A., B.Sc. Form and Habit in Flowering Plants.

Prof. MICHAEL FOSTER, M.D. Protoplasm and the Cell Theory.

H. CHARLTON BASTIAN, M.D., F.R.S. The Brain as an Organ of Mind.

Prof. A. C. RAMSAY, LL.D., F.R.S. Earth Sculpture: Hills, Valleys, Mountains, Plains, Rivers, Lakes; how they were Produced, and how they have been Destroyed.

P. BERT (Professor of Physiology, Paris). Forms of Life and other Cosmical Conditions.

Prof. T. H. HUXLEY. The Crayfish: an Introduction to the Study of Zoology.

The Rev. A SECCHI, D.J., late Director of the Observatory at Rome. The Stars.

Prof. J. ROSENTHAL, of the University of Erlangen. General Physiology of Muscles and Nerves.

Prof. A. DE QUATREFAGES, Membre de l'Institut. The Human Race.

Prof. THURSTON. The Steam Engine. With numerous Engravings.

FRANCIS GALTON, F.R.S. Psychometry.

J. W. JUDD, F.R.S. The Laws of Volcanic Action.

Prof. F. N. BALFOUR. The Embryonic Phases of Animal Life.

J. LUYS, Physician to the Hospice de la Salpétrière. The Brain and its Functions. With Illustrations.

Dr. CARL SEMPER. Animals and their Conditions of Existence.

Prof. WURTZ. Atoms and the Atomic Theory.

International Scientific Series (The).

Forthcoming Vols.—continued.

GEORGE J. ROMANES, F.L.S. Animal Intelligence.

ALFRED W. BENNETT. A Handbook of Cryptogamic Botany.

JACKSON (T. G.).

Modern Gothic Architecture. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

JACOB (Maj.-Gen. Sir G. Le Grand), K.C.S.I., C.B.

Western India Before and during the Mutinies. Pictures drawn from life. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

JENKINS (E.) and RAYMOND (J.), Esqs.

A Legal Handbook for Architects, Builders, and Building Owners. Second Edition Revised. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

JENKINS (Rev. R. C.), M.A.

The Privilege of Peter and the Claims of the Roman Church confronted with the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Testimony of the Popes themselves. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

JENNINGS (Mrs. Vaughan).

Rahel: Her Life and Letters. With a Portrait from the Painting by Daffinger. Square post 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

JEVONS (W. Stanley), M.A., F.R.S.

Money and the Mechanism of Exchange. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume XVII. of The International Scientific Series.

JONES (Lucy).

Puddings and Sweets. Being Three Hundred and Sixty-Five Receipts approved by Experience. Crown 8vo., price 2*s.* 6*d.*

KAUFMANN (Rev. M.), B.A.

Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies considered. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

KER (David).

The Boy Slave in Bokhara. A Tale of Central Asia. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

The Wild Horseman of the Pampas. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

KING (Alice).

A Cluster of Lives. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

KING (Mrs. Hamilton).

The Disciples. A Poem. Third Edition, with some Notes. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Aspromonte, and other Poems. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

KINGSLEY (Charles), M.A.

Letters and Memories of his Life. Edited by his WIFE. With 2 Steel engraved Portraits and numerous Illustrations on Wood, and a Facsimile of his Handwriting. Eleventh Edition. 2 vols., demy 8vo. Cloth, price 30*s.*

All Saints' Day and other Sermons. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Letters to Young Men on Betting and Gambling. 8vo. sewed, price 7*s.* 6*d.* per 100.

KNIGHT (A. F. C.).

Poems. Fcap 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

LACORDAIRE (Rev. Père).

Life: Conferences delivered at Toulouse. A New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lady of Lipari (The).

A Poem in Three Cantos. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

LAMBERT (Cowley), F.R.G.S.

A Trip to Cashmere and Ladâk. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

LAURIE (J. S.).

Educational Course of Secular School Books for India: The First Hindustani Reader. Stiff linen wrapper, price *6d.*

The Second Hindustani Reader. Stiff linen wrapper, price *6d.*

The Oriental (English) Reader. Book I., price *6d.*; II., price *7½d.*; III., price *9d.*; IV., price *1s.*

Geography of India; with Maps and Historical Appendix, tracing the Growth of the British Empire in Hindustan. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *1s. 6d.*

LAYMANN (Capt.).

The Frontal Attack of Infantry. Translated by Colonel Edward Newdigate. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *2s. 6d.*

L. D. S.

Letters from China and Japan. With Illustrated Title-page. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *7s. 6d.*

LEANDER (Richard).

Fantastic Stories. Translated from the German by Paulina B. Granville. With Eight full-page Illustrations by M. E. Fraser-Tytler. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *5s.*

LEE (Rev. F. G.), D.C.L.

The Other World; or, Glimpses of the Supernatural. 2 vols. A New Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *15s.*

LEE (Holme).

Her Title of Honour. A Book for Girls. New Edition. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *5s.*

LENOIR (J.).

Fayoum; or, Artists in Egypt. A Tour with M. Gérome and others. With 13 Illustrations. A New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *3s. 6d.*

LEWIS (Mary A.).

A Rat with Three Tales. With Four Illustrations by Catherine F. Frere. Cloth, price *5s.*

LOCKER (F.).

London Lyrics. A New and Revised Edition, with Additions and a Portrait of the Author. Crown 8vo. Cloth, elegant, price *6s.*

Also, an Edition for the People. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *2s. 6d.*

LOCKYER (J. Norman), F.R.S.

Studies in Spectrum Analysis; with six photographic illustrations of Spectra, and numerous engravings on wood. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *6s. 6d.*

Vol. XXIII. of the International Scientific Series.

LOMMEL (Dr. E.).

The Nature of Light: With a General Account of Physical Optics. Second Edition. With 188 Illustrations and a Table of Spectra in Chromo-lithography. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price *5s.*

Volume XVIII. of The International Scientific Series.

LORIMER (Peter), D.D.

John Knox and the Church of England: His Work in her Pulpit, and his Influence upon her Liturgy, Articles, and Parties. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price *12s.*

John Wiclif and his English Precursors, by Gerhard Victor Lechler. Translated from the German, with additional Notes. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price *21s.*

LOTHIAN (Roxburghe).

Dante and Beatrice from 1282 to 1290. A Romance. 2 vols. Post 8vo. Cloth, price *24s.*

LOVER (Samuel), R.H.A.

The Life of Samuel Lover, R. H. A.; Artistic, Literary, and Musical. With Selections from his Unpublished Papers and Correspondence. By Bayle Bernard. 2 vols. With a Portrait. Post 8vo. Cloth, price *21s.*

LUCAS (Alice).

Translations from the Works of German Poets of the 18th and 19th Centuries. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price *5s.*

LYONS (R. T.), Surg.-Maj. Bengal Army.

A Treatise on Relapsing Fever. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

MACAULAY (J.), M.A., M.D., Edin.

The Truth about Ireland: Tours of Observation in 1872 and 1875. With Remarks on Irish Public Questions. Being a Second Edition of "Ireland in 1872," with a New and Supplementary Preface. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

MAC CLINTOCK (L.).

Sir Spangle and the Dingy Hen. Illustrated. Square crown 8vo., price 2*s.* 6*d.*

MAC DONALD (G.).

Malcolm. With Portrait of the Author engraved on Steel. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. Price 6*s.*

The Marquis of Lossie. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

St. George and St. Michael. Crown 8vo. Cloth, 6*s.*

MAC KENNA (S. J.).

Plucky Fellows. A Book for Boys. With Six Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

At School with an Old Dragoon. With Six Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

MACLACHLAN (A. N. C.), M.A.

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland: being a Sketch of his Military Life and Character, chiefly as exhibited in the General Orders of His Royal Highness, 1745—1747. With Illustrations. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 15*s.*

MACNAUGHT (Rev. John).

Cœna Domini: An Essay on the Lord's Supper, its Primitive Institution, Apostolic Uses, and Subsequent History. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 14*s.*

MAGNUSSON (Eirikr), M.A., and PALMER (E.H.), M.A.

Johan Ludvig Runeberg's Lyrical Songs, Idylls and Epigrams. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

MAIR (R. S.), M.D., F.R.C.S.E.

The Medical Guide for Anglo-Indians. Being a Compendium of Advice to Europeans in India, relating to the Preservation and Regulation of Health. With a Supplement on the Management of Children in India. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Limp cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

MALDEN (H. E. and E. E.)

Princes and Princesses. Illustrated. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

MANNING (His Eminence Cardinal).

Essays on Religion and Literature. By various Writers. Third Series. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Independence of the Holy See, with an Appendix containing the Papal Allocution and a translation. Cr. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

The True Story of the Vatican Council. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

MAREY (E. J.).

Animal Mechanics. A Treatise on Terrestrial and Aerial Locomotion. With 117 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume XI. of The International Scientific Series.

MARRIOTT (Maj.-Gen. W. F.), C.S.I.

A Grammar of Political Economy. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

MASTERMAN (J.).

Worth Waiting for. A New Novel. 3 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth.

Half-a-dozen Daughters. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

MAUDSLEY (Dr. H.).

Responsibility in Mental Disease. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume VIII. of The International Scientific Series.

MAUGHAN (W. C.).

The Alps of Arabia; or, Travels through Egypt, Sinai, Arabia, and the Holy Land. With Map. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HINTON (James).—*continued.*

Physiology for Practical Use. By various Writers. With 50 Illustrations. 2 vols. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

An Atlas of Diseases of the Membrana Tympani. With Descriptive Text. Post 8vo. Price £6 6*s.*

The Questions of Aural Surgery. With Illustrations. 2 vols. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

H. J. C.

The Art of Furnishing. A Popular Treatise on the Principles of Furnishing, based on the Laws of Common Sense, Requirement, and Picturesque Effect. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HOCKLEY (W. B.).

Tales of the Zenana; or, A Nuwab's Leisure Hours. By the Author of "Pandurang Hari." With a Preface by Lord Stanley of Alderley. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

Pandurang Hari; or, Memoirs of a Hindoo. A Tale of Mahratta Life sixty years ago. With a Preface by Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, G.C.S.I., &c. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

HOFFBAUER (Capt.).

The German Artillery in the Battles near Metz. Based on the official reports of the German Artillery. Translated by Capt. E. O. Hollist. With Map and Plans. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

HOLMES (E. G. A.).

Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HOLROYD (Major W. R. M.).

Tas-hil ul Kālām; or, Hindustani made Easy. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HOOPER (Mary).

Little Dinners: How to Serve them with Elegance and Economy. Thirteenth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HOOPER (Mary).—*continued.*

Cookery for Invalids, Persons of Delicate Digestion, and Children. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Every-Day Meals. Being Economical and Wholesome Recipes for Breakfast, Luncheon, and Supper. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HOOPER (Mrs. G.).

The House of Raby. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HOPKINS (Ellice).

Life and Letters of James Hinton, with an Introduction by Sir W. W. Gull, Bart., and Portrait engraved on Steel by C. H. Jeens. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 8*s.* 6*d.*

HOPKINS (M.).

The Port of Refuge; or, Counsel and Aid to Shipmasters in Difficulty, Doubt, or Distress. Crown 8vo. Second and Revised Edition. Cloth, price 6*s.*

HORNE (William), M.A.

Reason and Revelation: an Examination into the Nature and Contents of Scripture Revelation, as compared with other Forms of Truth. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

HORNER (The Misses).

Walks in Florence. A New and thoroughly Revised Edition. 2 vols. crown 8vo. Cloth limp. With Illustrations.

Vol. I.—Churches, Streets, and Palaces. 10*s.* 6*d.* Vol. II.—Public Galleries and Museums. 5*s.*

HOWARD (Mary M.).

Beatrice Aylmer, and other Tales. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

HOWARD (Rev. G. B.).

An Old Legend of St. Paul's. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

HOWELL (James).

A Tale of the Sea, Sonnets, and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

HUGHES (Allison).

Penelope and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

MORLEY (Susan)—*continued.*

Margaret Chetwynd. A Novel. 3 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth.

MORSE (E. S.), Ph.D.

First Book of Zoology. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

MORSHEAD (E. D. A.)

The Agamemnon of Æschylus. Translated into English verse. With an Introductory Essay. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

MOSTYN (Sydney).

Perplexity. A Novel. 3 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth.

MUSGRAVE (Anthony).

Studies in Political Economy. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

My Sister Rosalind. A Novel. By the Author of "Christiana North," and "Under the Limes." 2 vols. Cloth.

NAAKÉ (J. T.).

Slavonic Fairy Tales. From Russian, Servian, Polish, and Bohemian Sources. With Four Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

NEWMAN (J. H.), D.D.

Characteristics from the Writings of. Being Selections from his various Works. Arranged with the Author's personal approval. Third Edition. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

*** A Portrait of the Rev. Dr. J. H. Newman, mounted for framing, can be had, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

NEW WRITER (A).

Songs of Two Worlds. Third Edition. Complete in one volume with Portrait. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Epic of Hades. Fourth and finally revised Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

NICHOLAS (Thomas), Ph. D., F.G.S.

The Pedigree of the English People: an Argument, Historical and Scientific, on the Formation and Growth of the Nation, tracing Race-admixture in Britain from the earliest times, with especial reference to the incorporation of the Celtic Aborigines. Fifth Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 16*s.*

NICHOLSON (Edward B.), Librarian of the London Institution.

The Christ Child, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

NOAKE (Major R. Compton).

The Bivouac; or, Martial Lyrist, with an Appendix—Advice to the Soldier. Fcap. 8vo. Price 5*s.* 6*d.*

NOBLE (J. A.).

The Pelican Papers. Reminiscences and Remains of a Dweller in the Wilderness. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

NORMAN PEOPLE (The).

The Norman People, and their Existing Descendants in the British Dominions and the United States of America. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

NORRIS (Rev. Alfred).

The Inner and Outer Life Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Northern Question (The); Or, Russia's Policy in Turkey unmasked. Demy 8vo. Sewed, price 1*s.*

Notes on Cavalry Tactics, Organization, &c. By a Cavalry Officer. With Diagrams. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

NOTREGE (John), A.M.

The Spiritual Function of a Presbyter in the Church of England. Crown 8vo. Cloth, red edges, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Oriental Sporting Magazine (The). A Reprint of the first 5 Volumes, in 2 Volumes. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 28*s.*

Our Increasing Military Difficulty, and one Way of Meeting it. Demy 8vo. Stitched, price 1*s.*

PAGE (Capt. S. F.).

Discipline and Drill. Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. Price 1*s.*

PALGRAVE, (W. Gifford).

Hermann Agha; An Eastern Narrative. Third and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

PANDURANG HARI;
Or, Memoirs of a Hindoo. With an Introductory Preface by Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, G.C.S.I., C.B. Crown 8vo. Price 6*s*.

PARKER (Joseph), D.D.
The Paraclete: An Essay on the Personality and Ministry of the Holy Ghost, with some reference to current discussions. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s*.

PARR (Harriet).
Echoes of a Famous Year. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 8*s*. 6*d*.

PAUL (C. Kegan).
Goethe's Faust. A New Translation in Rime. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s*.
William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries. With Portraits and Facsimiles of the Handwriting of Godwin and his Wife. 2 vols. Square post 8vo. Cloth, price 28*s*.
The Genius of Christianity Unveiled. Being Essays by William Godwin never before published. Edited, with a Preface, by C. Kegan Paul. Crown 8vo. Cloth price 7*s*. 6*d*.

PAUL (Margaret Agnes).
Gentle and Simple: A Story. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth, gilt tops, price 12*s*.

PAYNE (John).
Songs of Life and Death. Crown 8vo Cloth, price 5*s*.

PAYNE (Prof. J. F.).
Lectures on Education. Price 6*d*. each.
II. Fröbel and the Kindergarten System. Second Edition.
A Visit to German Schools: Elementary Schools in Germany. Notes of a Professional Tour to inspect some of the Kindergartens, Primary Schools, Public Girls Schools, and Schools for Technical Instruction in Hamburgh, Berlin, Dresden, Weimar, Gotha, Eisenach, in the autumn of 1874. With Critical Discussions of the General Principles and Practice of Kindergartens and other Schemes of Elementary Education. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

PEACOCKE (Georgiana).
Rays from the Southern Cross: Poems. Crown 8vo. With Sixteen Full-page Illustrations by the Rev. P. Walsh. Cloth elegant, price 10*s*. 6*d*.

PELLETAN (E.).
The Desert Pastor, Jean Jarousseau. Translated from the French. By Colonel E. P. De L'Hoste. With a Frontispiece. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

PENNELL (H. Cholmondeley).
Pegasus Resaddled. By the Author of "Puck on Pegasus," &c. &c. With Ten Full-page Illustrations by George Du Maurier. Second Edition. Fcap. 4to. Cloth elegant, price 12*s*. 6*d*.

PENRICE (Maj. J.), B.A.
A Dictionary and Glossary of the Ko-ran. With copious Grammatical References and Explanations of the Text. 4to. Cloth, price 21*s*.

PERCIVAL (Rev. P.).
Tamil Proverbs, with their English Translation. Containing upwards of Six Thousand Proverbs, Third Edition. Demy 8vo. Sewed, price 9*s*.

PESCHEL (Dr. Oscar).
The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution. Large crown 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s*.

PETTIGREW (J. Bell), M.D., F.R.S.
Animal Locomotion; or, Walking, Swimming, and Flying. With 130 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.
Volume VII. of The International Scientific Series.

PFEIFFER (Emily).
Glan Alarch: His Silence and Song. A Poem. Crown 8vo. price 6*s*.
Gerard's Monument and Other Poems. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s*.
Poems. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s*.

PIGGOT (J.), F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

Persia—Ancient and Modern. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

PLAYFAIR (Lieut.-Col.), Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in Algiers.

Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce in Algeria and Tunis. Illustrated by facsimiles of Bruce's original Drawings, Photographs, Maps, &c. Royal 4to. Cloth, bevelled boards, gilt leaves, price £3 3*s.*

POOR (Henry V.).

Money and its Laws, embracing a History of Monetary Theories and a History of the Currencies of the United States. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

POUSHKIN (A. S.).

Russian Romance. Translated from the Tales of Belkin, etc. By Mrs. J. Buchan Telfer (*née* Mouravieff). Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

POWER (H.).

Our Invalids: How shall we Employ and Amuse Them? Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

POWLETT (Lieut. N.), R.A.

Eastern Legends and Stories in English Verse. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

PRESBYTER.

Unfoldings of Christian Hope. An Essay showing that the Doctrine contained in the Damnatory Clauses of the Creed commonly called Athanasian is unscriptural. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

PRICE (Prof. Bonamy).

Currency and Banking. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Chapters on Practical Political Economy. Being the Substance of Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. Large post 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.*

PROCTOR (Richard A.), B.A.

Our Place among Infinities. A Series of Essays contrasting our little abode in space and time with the Infinities around us. To which are added Essays on "Astrology," and "The Jewish Sabbath." Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

The Expanse of Heaven. A Series of Essays on the Wonders of the Firmament. With a Frontispiece. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Proteus and Amadeus. A Correspondence. Edited by Aubrey De Vere. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

PUBLIC SCHOOLBOY.

The Volunteer, the Militiaman, and the Regular Soldier. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Punjaub (The) and North Western Frontier of India. By an old Punjauber. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

RAM (James).

The Philosophy of War. Small Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

READ (Carveth).

On the Theory of Logic: An Essay. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

REANEY (Mrs. G. S.).

Blessing and Blessed; a Sketch of Girl Life. With a frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Waking and Working; or, from Girlhood to Womanhood. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Sunshine Jenny and other Stories. Three Illustrations. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

Sunbeam Willie, and other Stories. Three Illustrations. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

RHOADES (James).

Timoleon. A Dramatic Poem. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

RIBOT (Prof. Th.).

English Psychology. Second Edition. A Revised and Corrected Translation from the latest French Edition. Large post 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

RIBOT (Prof. Th.)—*continued.*

Heredity: A Psychological Study on its Phenomena, its Laws, its Causes, and its Consequences. Large crown 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

RINK (Chevalier Dr. Henry).

Greenland: Its People and its Products. By the Chevalier Dr. Henry Rink, President of the Greenland Board of Trade. With sixteen Illustrations, drawn by the Eskimo, and a Map. Edited by Dr. Robert Brown. Crown 8vo. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

ROBERTSON (The Late Rev. F. W.), M.A., of Brighton.

Notes on Genesis. Third Edition. Crown 8vo., price 5*s.*

New and Cheaper Editions:—

The Late Rev. F. W. Robertson, M.A., Life and Letters of. Edited by the Rev. Stopford Brooke, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen.

I. 2 vols., uniform with the Sermons. With Steel Portrait. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

II. Library Edition, in Demy 8vo., with Two Steel Portraits. Cloth price 12*s.*

III. A Popular Edition, in 1 vol. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Sermons. Four Series. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Expository Lectures on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. A New Edition. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Lectures and Addresses, with other literary remains. A New Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

An Analysis of Mr. Tennyson's "In Memoriam." (Dedicated by Permission to the Poet-Laureate.) Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.*

The Education of the Human Race. Translated from the German of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

The above Works can also be had half-bound in morocco.

*** A Portrait of the late Rev. F. W. Robertson, mounted for framing, can be had, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

ROBINSON (A. Mary F.).

A Handful of Honeysuckle. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

ROSS (Mrs. E.), ("Nelsie Brook").

Daddy's Pet. A Sketch from Humble Life. With Six Illustrations. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.*

RUSSELL (E. R.).

Irving as Hamlet. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. Sewed, price 1*s.*

RUSSELL (Major Frank S.).

Russian Wars with Turkey, Past and Present. With Two Maps. Second Edition. Crown 8vo., price 6*s.*

RUTHERFORD (John).

The Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy; its Origin, Objects, and Ramifications. 2 vols. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 18*s.*

SADLER (S. W.), R.N.

The African Cruiser. A Midshipman's Adventures on the West Coast. With Three Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

SAMAROW (G.).

For Sceptre and Crown. A Romance of the Present Time. Translated by Fanny Wormald. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 15*s.*

SAUNDERS (Katherine).

Gideon's Rock, and other Stories. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Joan Merryweather, and other Stories. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Margaret and Elizabeth. A Story of the Sea. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

SAUNDERS (John).

Israel Mort, Overman: a Story of the Mine. Crown 8vo. Price 6*s.*

Hirell. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Cheap Edition. With Frontispiece, price 2*s.*

Abel Drake's Wife. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Cheap Edition. With Frontispiece, price 2*s.*

SCHELL (Maj. von).

The Operations of the First Army under Gen. Von Goeben. Translated by Col. C. H. von Wright. Four Maps. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

The Operations of the First Army under Gen. Von Steinmetz. Translated by Captain E. O. Hollist. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s. 6d.*

SCHELLENDORF, (Maj.-Gen. B. von).

The Duties of the General Staff. Translated from the German by Lieutenant Hare. Vol. I. Demy 8vo. Cloth, 10*s. 6d.*

SCHERFF (Maj. W. von).

Studies in the New Infantry Tactics. Parts I. and II. Translated from the German by Colonel Lumley Graham. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s. 6d.*

SCHMIDT (Prof. Oscar).

The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism. With 26 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume XII. of The International Scientific Series.

SCHÜTZENBERGER (Prof. F.).

Fermentation. With Numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Volume XX. of The International Scientific Series.

SCOTT (Patrick).

The Dream and the Deed, and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

SCOTT (W. T.).

Antiquities of an Essex Parish; or, Pages from the History of Great Dunmow. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.* Sewed, 4*s.*

SCOTT (Robert H.).

Weather Charts and Storm Warnings. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s. 6d.*

Seeking his Fortune, and other Stories. With Four Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s. 6d.*

SENIOR (N. W.).

Alexis De Tocqueville. Correspondence and Conversations with Nassau W. Senior, from 1833 to 1859. Edited by M. C. M. Simpson. 2 vols. Large post 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

Journals Kept in France and Italy. From 1848 to 1852. With a Sketch of the Revolution of 1848. Edited by his Daughter, M. C. M. Simpson. 2 vols. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 24*s.*

Seven Autumn Leaves from Fairyland. Illustrated with Nine Etchings. Square crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s. 6d.*

SEYD (Ernest), F.S.S.

The Fall in the Price of Silver. Its Causes, its Consequences, and their Possible Avoidance, with Special Reference to India. Demy 8vo. Sewed, price 2*s. 6d.*

SHADWELL (Maj.-Gen.), C.B.

Mountain Warfare. Illustrated by the Campaign of 1799 in Switzerland. Being a Translation of the Swiss Narrative compiled from the Works of the Archduke Charles, Jomini, and others. Also of Notes by General H. Dufour on the Campaign of the Valtelline in 1635. With Appendix, Maps, and Introductory Remarks. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 16*s.*

SHAW (Flora L.).

Castle Blair: a Story of Youthful Lives. 2 vols. crown 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.* Also, an edition in 1 vol. crown 8vo. 6*s.*

SHELLEY (Lady).

Shelley Memorials from Authentic Sources. With (now first printed) an Essay on Christianity by Percy Bysshe Shelley. With Portrait. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

SHERMAN (Gen. W. T.).

Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman, Commander of the Federal Forces in the American Civil War. By Himself. 2 vols. With Map. Demy 8vo Cloth, price 24*s.*

Copyright English Edition.

SHILLITO (Rev. Joseph).
Womanhood: its Duties, Temptations, and Privileges. A Book for Young Women. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

SHIPLEY (Rev. Orby), M.A.
Church Tracts, or Studies in Modern Problems. By various Writers. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.* each.

SHUTE (Richard), M.A.
A Discourse on Truth. Large Post 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s.*

SMEDLEY (M. B.).
Boarding-out and Pauper Schools for Girls. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

SMITH (Edward), M.D., LL.B., F.R.S.
Health and Disease, as Influenced by the Daily, Seasonal, and other Cyclical Changes in the Human System. A New Edition. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Foods. Profusely Illustrated. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*
Volume III. of The International Scientific Series.

Practical Dietary for Families, Schools, and the Labouring Classes. A New Edition. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Tubercular Consumption in its Early and Remediable Stages. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

SMITH (Hubert).
Tent Life with English Gipsies in Norway. With Five full-page Engravings and Thirty-one smaller Illustrations by Whymper and others, and Map of the Country showing Routes. Third Edition. Revised and Corrected. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

Songs of Two Worlds. By the Author of "The Epic of Hades." Third Edition. Complete in one Volume, with Portrait. Fcap 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Songs for Music.
By Four Friends. Square crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*
Containing songs by Reginald A. Gatty, Stephen H. Gatty, Greville J. Chester, and Juliana Ewing.

SPENCER (Herbert).
The Study of Sociology. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*
Volume V. of The International Scientific Series.

SPICER (H.).
Otho's Death Wager. A Dark Page of History Illustrated. In Five Acts. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

STAPLETON (John).
The Thames: A Poem. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

STEPHENS (Archibald John), LL.D.
The Folkestone Ritual Case. The Substance of the Argument delivered before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. On behalf of the Respondents. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

STEVENSON (Robert Louis).
An Inland Voyage. With Frontispiece by Walter Crane. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

STEVENSON (Rev. W. F.).
Hymns for the Church and Home. Selected and Edited by the Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson.
The most complete Hymn Book published.
The Hymn Book consists of Three Parts:—I. For Public Worship.—II. For Family and Private Worship.—III. For Children.
*** *Published in various forms and prices, the latter ranging from* 8*d. to* 6*s. Lists and full particulars will be furnished on application to the Publishers.*

STEWART (Prof. Balfour), M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.
On the Conservation of Energy. Fifth Edition. With Fourteen Engravings. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*
Volume VI. of The International Scientific Series.

STONEHEWER (Agnes).

Monacell: A Legend of North Wales. A Poem. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

STRETTON (Hesba). Author of "Jessica's First Prayer."

Michael Lorio's Cross and other Stories. With Two Illustrations. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

The Storm of Life. With Ten Illustrations. Twenty-first Thousand. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

The Crew of the Dolphin. Illustrated. Fourteenth Thousand. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

Cassy. Thirty-eighth Thousand. With Six Illustrations. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

The King's Servants. Forty-third Thousand. With Eight Illustrations. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d*

Lost Gip. Fifty-ninth Thousand. With Six Illustrations. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

*** *Also a handsomely bound Edition, with Twelve Illustrations, price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

David Lloyd's Last Will. With Four Illustrations. Royal 16mo., price 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Wonderful Life. Thirteenth Thousand. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Night and a Day. With Frontispiece. Twelfth Thousand. Royal 16mo. Limp cloth, price 6*d.*

Friends till Death. With Illustrations and Frontispiece. Twenty-fourth Thousand. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*; limp cloth, price 6*d.*

Two Christmas Stories. With Frontispiece. Twenty-first Thousand. Royal 16mo. Limp cloth, price 6*d.*

Michel Lorio's Cross, and Left Alone. With Frontispiece. Fifteenth Thousand. Royal 16mo. Limp cloth, price 6*d.*

STRETTON (Hesba)—*continued.*

Old Transome. With Frontispiece. Sixteenth Thousand. Royal 16mo. Limp cloth, price 6*d.*

*** Taken from "The King's Servants."

The Worth of a Baby, and how Apple-Tree Court was won. With Frontispiece. Nineteenth Thousand. Royal 16mo. Limp cloth, price 6*d.*

STUBBS (Lieut.-Colonel F. W.)

The Regiment of Bengal Artillery. The History of its Organization, Equipment, and War Services. Compiled from Published Works, Official Records, and various Private Sources. With numerous Maps and Illustrations. Two Vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 32*s.*

STUMM (Lieut. Hugo), German Military Attaché to the Khivan Expedition.

Russia's advance Eastward. Based on the Official Reports of. Translated by Capt. C. E. H. VINCENT. With Map. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

SULLY (James), M.A.

Sensation and Intuition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Pessimism: a History and a Criticism. Demy 8vo. Price 14*s.*

Sunnyland Stories. By the Author of "Aunt Mary's Bran Pie." Illustrated. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Supernatural in Nature, The. A Verification of Scripture by Free Use of Science. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 14*s.*

Sweet Silvery Sayings of Shakespeare. Crown 8vo. cloth gilt, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

SYME (David).

Outlines of an Industrial Science. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Tales of the Zenana. By the Author of "Pandurang Hari." 2 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 21*s.*

TAYLOR (Rev. J. W. A.), M.A.

Poems. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

TAYLOR (Sir H.).

Works Complete. Author's Edition, in 5 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.* each.
Vols. I. to III. containing the Poetical Works, Vols. IV. and V. the Prose Works.

TAYLOR (Col. Meadows), C.S.I., M.R.I.A.

A Noble Queen: a Romance of Indian History. 3 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth.

Seeta. 3 vols. Crown 8vo. Cloth.

The Confessions of a Thug. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Tara: a Mahratta Tale. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

TELFER (J. Buchan), F.R.G.S., Commander R.N.

The Crimea and Trans-Caucasia. With numerous Illustrations and Maps. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. Second Edition. Cloth, price 36*s.*

TENNYSON (Alfred).

The Imperial Library Edition. Complete in 7 vols. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price £3 13*s.* 6*d.*; in Roxburgh binding, £4 7*s.* 6*d.*

Author's Edition. Complete in 6 Volumes. Post 8vo. Cloth gilt; or half-morocco, Roxburgh style:—

VOL. I. **Early Poems, and English Idylls.** Price 6*s.*; Roxburgh, 7*s.* 6*d.*

VOL. II. **Locksley Hall, Lucretius, and other Poems.** Price 6*s.*; Roxburgh, 7*s.* 6*d.*

VOL. III. **The Idylls of the King** (*Complete*). Price 7*s.* 6*d.*; Roxburgh, 9*s.*

VOL. IV. **The Princess, and Maud.** Price 6*s.*; Roxburgh, 7*s.* 6*d.*

VOL. V. **Enoch Arden, and In Memoriam.** Price 6*s.*; Roxburgh, 7*s.* 6*d.*

TENNYSON (Alfred)—*continued.*

VOL. VI. **Dramas.** Price 7*s.*; Roxburgh, 8*s.* 6*d.*

Cabinet Edition. 12 volumes. Each with Frontispiece. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

CABINET EDITION. 12 vols. Complete in handsome Ornamental Case. 32*s.*

Pocket Volume Edition. 13 vols. In neat case, 36*s.* Ditto, ditto. Extra cloth gilt, in case, 42*s.*

The Guinea Edition of the Poetical and Dramatic Works, complete in 12 volumes, neatly bound and enclosed in box. Cloth, price 21*s.* French morocco, price 31*s.* 6*d.*

The Shilling Edition of the Poetical and Dramatic Works, in 12 vols., pocket size. Price 1*s.* each.

The Crown Edition. Complete in 1 volume, strongly bound in cloth, price 6*s.* Cloth, extra gilt leaves, price 7*s.* 6*d.* Roxburgh, half morocco, price 8*s.* 6*d.*

*** Can also be had in a variety of other bindings.

Original Editions:

Poems. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Maud, and other Poems. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Princess. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

Idylls of the King. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

Idylls of the King. Complete. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

The Holy Grail, and other Poems. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

Gareth and Lynette. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.*

Enoch Arden, &c. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

In Memoriam. Small 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.*

TENNYSON (Alfred)—*continued.*

Queen Mary. A Drama. New Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Harold. A Drama. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Selections from Tennyson's Works. Super royal 16mo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.* Cloth gilt extra, price 4*s.*

Songs from Tennyson's Works. Super royal 16mo. Cloth extra, price 3*s.* 6*d.*
Also a cheap edition. 16mo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

Idylls of the King, and other Poems. Illustrated by Julia Margaret Cameron. 2 vols. Folio Half-bound morocco, cloth sides, price £6 6*s.* each.

Tennyson for the Young and for Recitation. Specially arranged. Fcap. 8vo. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

Tennyson Birthday Book. Edited by Emily Shakespear. 32mo. Cloth limp, 2*s.*; cloth extra, 3*s.*

THOMAS (Moy).

A Fight for Life. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THOMPSON (Alice C.).

Preludes. A Volume of Poems. Illustrated by Elizabeth Thompson (Painter of "The Roll Call"). 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

THOMPSON (Rev. A. S.).

Home Words for Wanderers. A Volume of Sermons. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

Thoughts in Verse.

Small Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

THRING (Rev. Godfrey), B.A.

Hymns and Sacred Lyrics. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

TODD (Herbert), M.A.

Arvan; or, The Story of the Sword. A Poem. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

TODHUNTER (Dr. J.)

Laurella; and other Poems. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.* 6*d.*

TRAHERNE (Mrs. A.).

The Romantic Annals of a Naval Family. A New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

TREMENHEERE (Lieut.-Gen. C. W.)

Missions in India: the System of Education in Government and Mission Schools contrasted. Demy 8vo. Sewed, price 2*s.*

TURNER (Rev. C. Tennyson).

Sonnets, Lyrics, and Translations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

TYNDALL (John), L.L.D., F.R.S.

The Forms of Water in Clouds and Rivers, Ice and and Glaciers. With Twenty-five Illustrations. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*
Volume I. of The International Scientific Series.

VAMBERY (Prof. A.).

Bokhara: Its History and Conquest. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 18*s.*

VAN BENEDEN (Mons.).

Animal Parasites and Messmates. With 83 Illustrations. Second Edition. Cloth, price 5*s.*
Volume XIX. of The International Scientific Series.

VINCENT (Capt. C. E. H.).

Elementary Military Geography, Reconnoitring, and Sketching. Compiled for Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers of all Arms. Square crown 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

VOGEL (Dr. Hermann).

The Chemical effects of Light and Photography, in their application to Art, Science, and Industry. The translation thoroughly revised. With 100 Illustrations, including some beautiful specimens of Photography. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*
Volume XV. of The International Scientific Series.

VYNER (Lady Mary).

Every day a Portion. Adapted from the Bible and the Prayer Book, for the Private Devotions of those living in Widowhood. Collected and edited by Lady Mary Vyner. Square crown 8vo. Cloth extra, price 5*s*.

WARTENSLEBEN (Count H. von).

The Operations of the South Army in January and February, 1871. Compiled from the Official War Documents of the Head-quarters of the Southern Army. Translated by Colonel C. H. von Wright. With Maps. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s*.

The Operations of the First Army under Gen. von Manteuffel. Translated by Colonel C. H. von Wright. Uniform with the above. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 9*s*.

WATERFIELD, W.

Hymns for Holy Days and Seasons. 32mo. Cloth, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

WAY (A.), M.A.

The Odes of Horace Literally Translated in Metre. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s*.

WELLS (Capt. John C.), R.N.

Spitzbergen—The Gateway to the Polynia; or, A Voyage to Spitzbergen. With numerous Illustrations by Whymper and others, and Map. New and Cheaper Edition. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s*.

WETMORE (W. S.).

Commercial Telegraphic Code. Second Edition. Post 4to. Boards, price 42*s*.

WHITAKER (Florence).

Christy's Inheritance. A London Story. Illustrated. Royal 16mo. Cloth, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

WHITE (A. D.), LL.D.

Warfare of Science. With Prefatory Note by Professor Tyndall. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

WHITE (Capt. F. B. P.).

The Substantive Seniority Army List—Majors and Captains. 8vo. Sewed, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

WHITNEY (Prof. W. D.)

The Life and Growth of Language. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth; price 5*s*. *Copyright Edition.*

Volume XVI. of The International Scientific Series.

Essentials of English Grammar for the Use of Schools. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

WHITTLE (J. L.), A.M.

Catholicism and the Vatican. With a Narrative of the Old Catholic Congress at Munich. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

WICKHAM (Capt. E. H., R.A.)

Influence of Firearms upon Tactics: Historical and Critical Investigations. By an Officer of Superior Rank (in the German Army). Translated by Captain E. H. Wickham, R.A. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

WILBERFORCE (H. W.).

The Church and the Empires. Historical Periods. Preceded by a Memoir of the Author by John Henry Newman, D.D. of the Oratory. With Portrait. Post 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s*. 6*d*.

WILKINSON (T. L.).

Short Lectures on the Land Laws. Delivered before the Working Men's College. Crown 8vo. Limp Cloth, price 2*s*.

WILLIAMS (A. Lukyn).

Famines in India; their Causes and Possible Prevention. The Essay for the Le Bas Prize, 1875. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s*.

WILLIAMS (Charles), one of the Special Correspondents attached to the Staff of Ghazi Ahmed Mouktar Pasha.

The Armenian Campaign: Diary of the Campaign of 1877 in Armenia and Koordistan. With Two Special Maps. Large post 8vo. Cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

WILLIAMS (Rowland), D.D.

Life and Letters of, with Extracts from his Note-Books. Edited by Mrs. Rowland Williams. With a Photographic Portrait. 2 vols. Large post 8vo. Cloth, price 24*s.*

Psalms, Litanies, Counsels and Collects for Devout Persons. Edited by his Widow. New and Popular Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

WILLIS (R., M.D.)

Servetus and Calvin: a Study of an Important Epoch in the Early History of the Reformation. 8vo. Cloth, price 16*s.*

WILLOUGHBY (The Hon. Mrs.).

On the North Wind—Thistledown. A Volume of Poems. Elegantly bound. Small crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

WILSON (H. Schütz).

Studies and Romances. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

WILSON (Lieut.-Col. C. T.).

James the Second and the Duke of Berwick. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

WINTERBOTHAM (Rev. R.), M.A., B.Sc.

Sermons and Expositions. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

WOINOVITS (Capt. I.).

Austrian Cavalry Exercise. Translated by Captain W. S. Cooke. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.*

WOOD (C. F.).

A Yachting Cruise in the South Seas. With Six Photographic Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

WRIGHT (Rev. David), M.A.

Waiting for the Light, and other Sermons. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

WYLD (R. S.), F.R.S.E.

The Physics and the Philosophy of the Senses; or, The Mental and the Physical in their Mutual Relation. Illustrated by several Plates. Demy 8vo. Cloth, price 16*s.*

YONGE (C. D.).

History of the English Revolution of 1688. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 6*s.*

YOUMANS (Eliza A.).

An Essay on the Culture of the Observing Powers of Children, especially in connection with the Study of Botany. Edited, with Notes and a Supplement, by Joseph Payne, F.C.P., Author of "Lectures on the Science and Art of Education," &c. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

First Book of Botany. Designed to Cultivate the Observing Powers of Children. With 300 Engravings. New and Enlarged Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

YOUMANS (Edward L.), M.D.

A Class Book of Chemistry, on the Basis of the New System. With 200 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

ZIMMERN (H.).

Stories in Precious Stones. With Six Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. Cloth, price 5*s.*

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

A Monthly Review, edited by JAMES KNOWLES, *price 2s. 6d.*

Vols. 1 and 2 (Price 14s. each) and Vol. 3 (Price 17s.) contain Contributions by the following Writers:

The Duke of Argyll.
Mr. Matthew Arnold.
Rabbi Hermann Adler.
Mr. Arthur Arnold.
Rev. J. Baldwin Brown.
Mr. Edgar Bowring.
Mr. Thomas Brassey, M.P.
Mr. Edgar A. Bowring.
Sir Thomas Bazley, Bart., M.P.
Professor George von Bunsen.
Rev. Dr. George Percy Badger.
Rev. Canon Barry.
Dr. H. Charlton Bastian.
Professor Clifford.
Dr. Carpenter.
Professor Colvin.
Mr. Grant Duff, M.P.
Mr. Edward Dicey.
Rev. R. W. Dale.
Mr. J. A. Froude.
Mr. Archibald Forbes.
Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.
Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
Mr. W. R. Greg.
Professor Huxley.
Mr. Frederick Harrison.
Mr. George Jacob Holyoake.
Mr. R. H. Hutton.
Mr. Henry Irving.
Sir John Lubbock, M.P.
Cardinal Manning.
Rev. Dr. Martineau.
Rev. Malcolm MacColl.
Professor Henry Morley.
His Highness Midhat Pasha.
Professor Henry Morley.
Mr. A. H. Mackonochie.
Rt. Hon. Lyon Playfair, M.P.
Mr. George Potter.
Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.
Professor Croom Robertson.
Rev. J. Guiness Rogers.
Professor Ruskin.
Mr. W. R. S. Ralston.
The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's.
Lord Selborne.
Sir James Fitzjames Stephen.
Rt. Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P.
Mr. James Spedding.
Professor Godwin Smith.
Professor Tyndall.
Mr. Tennyson.
Sir Julius Vogel.
Dr. Ward.
Major Gen. Sir Garnet Wolseley.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster.
The Right Rev. Chas. Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrew's.
Mr. Frederick Wedmore.
Sir Thomas Watson.
&c. &c.

LONDON:
C. KEGAN PAUL AND CO.,
1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

CHISWICK PRESS:—CHARLES WHITTINGHAM, TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018